

THE
FATAL Consequences

OF
National **DISCORD:**
OR, A 2.
POLITICAL ADDRESS
To the Noble and Rich Families of *Great Britain.*

Wherein is Contained,

- I. By way of INTRODUCTION, the Qualities necessary for a Prince, in order to gain the Love and Affection of His People, &c.
- II. That True Unity in the People, is the only Way to create a Flourishing Realm.
- III. That there can be no True Unity, without True Religion and Virtue.
- IV. The Necessity of a Supreme Power, in order to Propagate Unity, with the Dangers of Maintaining great Fleets, and standing Armies, at the Subjects unwilling Expences, with Rules laid down, How we may maintain the same without Oppression to the Subjects, or Expence to the State: So as to become Usefull in carrying on of Commerce in Time of Peace, and prevent our Scarcity of Seamen, for the future, in Time of War.

Humbly Inscribed, to his Royal Highness **FREDERICK** Prince of WALES, Lord Duke of *Edinburgh*, and *Rothsay*, Lord High Stewart of *Scotland*, Baron of *Renfrew*, and Earl *Palatine of Strathern*, &c. &c. &c.

By the Right Honourable **WILLIAM** Earl of *Monteith*, Lord *Kilpint*, and *Kilbryd*, Baron of *Gartmore*, &c.

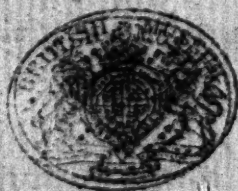
Non nobis nati sumus;

Partem Patriæ, partem parentes, partem Amici sibi vendicant.

Entered in STATIONERS-HALL.

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To The most Serene and Mighty

FREDERICK
PRINCE of WALES,

Lord DUKE of
Edinburgh, and Rothesay, &c. &c.

A N D

Glorious Object of our Expectations in
a Protestant Succession.

Most SERENE PRINCE,

THAT High Station, which by Your Birth, You hold above the People, Exacts from every One, as a Duty, what ever Honours they are capable of Paying to Your ROYAL HIGHNESS.

But that more Exalted Station, to which I'm Hopeful, Your, own Personal Vitues, are so very able to Acquire You Merit, above the Rest of Princes, must, of Consequence, Demand it, rather as a Tribute, more immediately preventing that Duty.

And hence it is, That this small Volume, however Imperfect it may be, thro' the Youth
 Unexperience

Unexperience, Uncapacity, or otherways of the Author; Yet as 'tis founded on a Moral, whose Main End is to Recomend and Encourage Virtue; of Consequence, it must have Recourse, to Your ROYAL HIGHNESS's Patronage and Protection.

For 'tis after the Example of Princes, That Virtue becomes a Fashion in the People, because, even they, who are Averse to Instruction, will yet be fond of Imitation: Thus Men are instructed when they Instruct, not so much by Precepts, which Persuade, as by Examples, which Illustrate; Thus, is Delight interwoven with Instruction, when Virtue is not only prescrib'd, but also Represented.

And hence also it is, that Albiet, I'm intirely Ignorant, of your Highness's Eminencies in those Princely Virtues, that so well Benefits the Hopeful Son of such a Royal Father; Yet such is the Boldness of my Zeal, that Nothing can call back my Arm; or Stay the Progress of my Quill, whose Emulous Desires comes short of none in the Kingdom; for the Expression of Most Loyal, and Unfeigned Affection: The Publick Gratitude, being ever founded, on the Publick Benefit, and what is Universally Blessed, must of Consequence, become always an Universal Blessing.

And hence also it is, That since to my Satisfaction

of tion, I'm inform'd, You are not only Gracious-
 oral, ly pleased, to allow *Scotsmen*, Free Access to
 cou- your HIGHNESS's Person, but also to Accept of
 Re- the Title of Lord Duke of *Edinburgh*: I there-
 tro- fore, as a Well-wisher of that most Ancient Metro-
 polis, take this Opportunity of Declaring my Love
 That by Presuming to Consecrate these Few Lines to
 be- your Illustrious Name; Praying always May long
 tion, Live Our Prince; That when your Royal Father,
 are shall Convert His Regal Diadem, into a Crown
 n by of Glory; You may Inherit His Throne, with
 ples, all His other Royal Virtues, and Prove another
 ter- *Phoenix*, to succeeding Generations; Whilst
 not Heavens, and the Ages to come, shall Stile
 rely You, with the Name of, **F R E D E R I C K**,
 s in King of *Britain*.

So Pray'd for,

By your Highness's

Most Loyal, Obedient,

and Humble Servant,

MONTEITH.

 The following PROLOGUE may Suffice for a PREFACE to the Reader.

FATE, or, perhaps, you'll call it Providence,
 Hath various Ways, oft mix'd with Violence ;
 And when a Realm, for Ruin it Designs,
 The Motion first begins in slavish Minds :
 These they defame, who do this Yoke refuse,
 And shun that Honesty they cannot use ;
 For, would you know but, what makes Martals jar,
 Observe the Nature of the tempting * Star ;
 To witty, nimble Stilbon † turn your Eye,
 He's Knave, Cheat, Rogue, and a damn'd tricking Spy,
 Give him a Place, he'll use it at his Ease,
 He's High Church, Papist, nothing if you please,
 Till bluntly, tho' bold, old Chronos † then denies
 To pay the Sons || their canting Sacrifice ;
 And, swell'd with Pride, thinks all must sloop and bow,
 Whilst others, in Scorn, such Service won't allow.
 Thus basely wicked Men support their Trade,
 And who lies best ought most to be obey'd :
 But learn to hate Vice, then Virtue will adorn ;
 The Devil's Trade's undone, if you reform.
 Poor Sinners skulk, tho' most expert you be,
 From Sin and Troubles, then you will get free.

* Viz. Self-Interest. † The Man addicted thereto. † P---
 M--- of State. || Subjects of the State.



INTRODUCTION.

WHOEVER then, hath a Mind to be heard in a Crowd, in these Pamphleteering and Audacious Days, amongst such a Number of Critical and Satyrick Pamphlets, must press and squeeze, thrust and climb, with indefatigable Pains, till he has arrived to a certain Degree of Altitude.

Now, in all Assemblies, tho' you press never so close, yet you may observe, this particular Property, That, over their Heads, there is Room enough, but how to reach it, is the difficult Point; it being exceeding hard to get quit of the Number; For methinks the Wits of this present Age are so very numerous, That the Grandees of Church and State, during the late long Interval of Peace, began to be affraid, least these Gentlemen shou'd have found Leisure to pick Holes in the weak Side of Religion and Government.

To prevent which, there has been much Throng of late, employed on certain Projects, but for taking off the Edge, of those formidable Enquiries, I shall conceal the whole under the following Allegory. A certain great Prince raised a Mighty Army, and filling his Coffers with Infinite Treasure; provided an Invincible Fleet, by raising a huge Body of Marines; and all this, without communicating his Design to any, saving a certain Ambitious Fellow, who, by his Flattery, had gained so much of the King's Favour, as to make him believe, he'd none Honest about the Throne;

Throne, but himself; prevailing so far with the King, as to get all his principal Favourites, remov'd from about his Person; expecting, by instigating him up to this Action, he'd thereby be able to establish a despotick Sway. The Armies amusing themselves, for the Space of some Years, by taking in Forts at one Time, and losing them at another, by delighting to chase young Boys from their Butter and Bread; whom they afterwards admitted to be their Officers; always threatening to Plunder, Dragon, Massacre, &c. Both Male and Female, Friend and Foe.

But the whole Neighbouring Nations, being in terrible Expectations, towards what Point this Storm wou'd burst, each endeavouring to provide for their own Safety: The small Politicians every where forming Grand Conjectures; some sending them to *Asia*, to subdue the *Turks*, whilst others, of deeper Sagacity, determin'd it, a Project, for pulling down the Pope, but the great Fleets returning Home, without Conquering any Thing but the Waves; the Philosophers of all Nations became unable to find out a Solution of this *Phænomenon*: Till soon afterwards, the secret Wheel, and hidden Spring, that had directed the Motion of the whole Machine of this Wonderful Engine, so as to set all the Nations, so long at a Gaze, was discover'd to be an absent Female, whose beautiful Eyes had rais'd a Protuberance, but, before Emission, she was remov'd to an Enemies Country, from whence the King design'd to take her by Force; but unfortunately, in the Midst of all these Preparations, this Female died: So that he was oblig'd to leave the World at this Time in Peace.

Till the whole Neighbouring States, having thus Armed themselves for their own Defence, they by Committing all Manner of Hostilities against His Subjects, and the Subjects again, becoming discontented against their Prince; He was at last forc'd to push on a War with Vigour.

From all which I wou'd conclude, That Principles frequently contrary, nay and sometimes altogether inconsistent, with the Nature of Just and Honourable Wars, incite Princes, to raise up great Armies, and Ambitious Men to dream of Nought but Foolish Projects.

For that can't be call'd Fortitude, when Kings, Princes, and great Men, nor foreseeing the Dangers they are entring into, do undertake perilous Enterprises; for Judgment, and not Ignorance, ought to be the Source of all valorous Attempts; for he can neither be called Wise nor Valiant, who, out of a secret Indulgence of lustful Apperites, refuseth to be guided by Reason, and so, consequently, like a wild Savage-Beast, mov'd with Fury, Rage and Rapine, seeks to revenge Those that provoke Them.

And from this, the Necessity will appear, why Kings ought not to give themselves, over to their Lusts, but learn to curb all violent Passions; for how can that Man govern others, who cannot govern Himself? And on this the sacred Writings are clear, That 'tis more glorious for a Man to govern his own Passions, than to take a Town: For the Government of one's Self, is the true Art of governing others, and by a wise Observation of these Laws themselves, which they impose on others. For true Fortitude consists in keeping a convenient *Medium*, 'twixt two Extremes, viz. Rashness, and Fearfulness: For as a King ought not to be too rash, in undertaking Enterprises, so neither ought He, on the other Hand, to be too fearful in executing them; when Time, Place and a convenient Opportunity, as a virtuous and reasonable Man commands him to do it: Because, as the doing thereof, is honest and commendable, so the contrary is dishonest and shameful. And these are the principal Seeds of Virtue, That all Honest and Wise Kings ought to aspire after.

For Wisdom, Virtue, and Valour, are the three Things, that give natural Right, to the Art of Governing; because he alone ought to command others, who has most Wisdom to discover what is Right, most Virtue to adhere to it, and most Courage to put it in Execution.

And from this, will appear the Necessity of Kings having wise and prudent Counsellors, Men of sound Wit and solid Judgment, and not such as can give no other Testimony of their Merit, but only such foolish Signs of Wit, as lively Sallies of Imagination, so as that they can form tedious Discourses, and a Talent for speaking on all Subjects, and yet not penetrating to the Bottom of any. For such Persons, are common-

ly the greatest Parasites, and against such, the Wise *Solon*, on his being institute *Archon* among the *Athenians*, made a Law, declaring all such incapable of Publick Employment: For tho' indeed, Merit ought to be prefer'd, yet it is the lowest Degree of Merit, because without Prudence, 'tis commonly of the most dangerous Consequences; for such Men are apt to puff themselves up with the vain Conceit, that they are deserving of the greatest Merit, whilst, on the contrary, the truly meritorious Man, is the most modest, and never seeks to Preferment.

But when a King has fine Parts, he can chuse able Ministers, and, by making proper Use of their Talents, govern these that govern, under him; and which Thing is the great Secret of the Art of governing; for quick Parts, as I said, whereby a Man may even become fruitful in Expeditions, are not Talents so essentially requisite for a Minister, as a solid Judgment in discerning what is best to be done, and a Steadiness and Courage, in pursuing the wisest Counsels.

For Men are too apt to be intoxicated, with idle Passions; they are apt to think, that if they do not give themselves a Liberty in these Things, which seem only innocent Amusements, that they cannot please their Superiours; and so, consequently, that it is a Liberty they cannot well deny themselves, till at last, Virtue, by Degrees, comes to be looked on as too severe an Enemy to Pleasure; and because it opposes Inclination, even contrary to Reason, till, in a Word, it comes to be look'd on, only as a politick Phantom, and mere Matter of Indifferency, being only a popular Prejudice, from which Men ought to get free, when, at any Time, they can indulge themselves in secret, till, at last, going on from one Step to another, the Understanding, becoming totally blinded, leads them astray, and hence precipitates into all Sorts of Crimes.

But a Minister ought not only to be a great Politician, but a Man equally Able, as well as Disinterested, and Virtuous, of good Parentage, and one that has not raised himself by Ambition, but by his Virtue and Merit, which are the only Ways capable to promote his Safety, in this exalted Station; and to be a Man possess'd of all Modesty and Graveness; for the higher a Man is exalted, the greater will his Fall be; but if he

has been presented by Virtue, Virtue will prefer him : And altho', as I said, That Graveness and Modesty was becoming a Minister, yet it is a dangerous Thing, thro' a shameful Weakness, not to suppress Vice, and produces frequently the worst of Consequences.

For it argues great Wisdom in a Prince, to have a special Eye towards the chusing of his Counsellors, that he prefer the Wise, and such are these who endeavour both to promote the Good of their King and Country, by looking more to their Advantages, than his own ; and such Men as these, all wise Princes ought to Reward, lest they become their own Carvers, and so, of good Servants, turn bad Masters.

For the Parasite is equally dangerous, with the Man, who loves never to contradict, and when a King or Prince observes any of these, he ought carefully to guard against them, by endeavouring, thro' a Course of virtuous Life, to render himself worthy of these Praises by honest Men, which the Parasite wou'd so boldly impose on him ; for, as *Aristotle*, says, They, who bend all their Wits to Evil, by continual lying and soothing, make Men believe, that they are excellent above the Course of Nature ; and to which the Simple, giving a readier Ear than they should, become at last a fatal Victim to the rapacious *Cyclops* : And hence *Diogenes* and *Epicarmus* were won't to say, That Flatterers were worse then Ravens ; for these pick out only the Eyes of dead Carcasses, but Parasites pick out the Eyes of the Mind, whilst alive.

And, to say the Truth, never did Flattery prevail so much as at present, inasmuch as that Kings have even been induced to believe their own Children, and greatest Friends, to be their greatest Foes, whilst they gloried only in the false Praises of wicked Flatterers, thereby bereaving themselves of the Praise, which otherways they might attain : And thus Family-Discord comes to be the *Initus* of all National Discord and Anarchy ; whilst the Parasite again, in order to render himself, to appear more honest, uses all the Rhetorick possible, to counterfit himself affectionate, to those, in whom he designs to pour his deadly Poison, thus endeavouring to kill in them all Sorts of Virtue, by using such vile Addulation to them, as if they were Gods, and not Men ; Thereby endeavouring, as *Seneca* says, to

tender them mad and foolish, by depriving them of the Knowledge of themselves, like *Diomedes* the *Asbentian*, who, in order to ingratiate himself with *Alexander* the Great, proposed, That he should be accounted among the Number of the Gods; which Flattery, together with his small Reverence for Divine Things, the People soon perceiving, imposed on him a Multitude of rooo Talents, &c. Tho' indeed this poor Wretch became, at last, so Seduced by these Vermines, as to actually believe himself a God, and to receive Sacrifices, as the Son of *Jupiter*; and from which he could never be drawn, till one *Deposippus* an *Asbentian* Wrestler, in order to check his vain Glory, after he was severely wounded, ask'd at him, If a God, why he bled as Mortals? At which Word, *Alexander* perceiving the Blood, and feeling the Pain, knew that he was mortal, and no God. And thereby so opening the Eyes of his Mind, as to make him afterwards despise Flatterers and all Manner of Flattery, insomuch as that, when one *Arifibalus*, an Historiographer, had writ a Book on the Deeds of *Alexander*, and being in a Boat with him on the River *Hydaspe* in *India*, after he had obtained Liberty from him to read it, he despising his shameless Flattery, by Reason of the untrue Facts, in Relation to his Praise, drew the Book from him, and threw it in the River, telling him, That he deserved the same Fate, since he was not asham'd to hand down to Posterity so many Lies.

By all which we may see, that when once, Kings give Heed to Flattery, they can't perceive the Danger, till some bitter Storm of adverse Fortune befall them: Which Thing this Generation well perceiving, they never cease when once they have got Trust and Credit, by their Lies, to use all Manner of Devices possible, to put to Disgrace and Hatred, all, who they think may be able to discover their Subtilities, and make known the Harm they procure; to which Purposes, by inventing false and colourable Practices, they labour to remove Them from about the Prince, that they may the better turn topsy, turvey, all at their Pleasure. By which Means, they so blind the Eyes of these poor Princes they possess, that they not only hold them dear when in Prosperity, but also bestow on them the sole Disposal of all Manner of Offices, Lands and Lordships; like *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, and Father of the above cited *Alexander*,

who

who had a Flatterer in his Court, named *Cissus*, or rather *Cleophus*, who would not only affirm and deny all that his Master said; but also, on a Time, when *Philip* got a sore Eye, and wore a Scarf or Band on it, he also came to Court with the like, using several Gestures of the like ridiculous Fashions at other Times; thereby endeavouring, not only by his Words, but Gestures, to transform the King, and put him beside himself. And altho' indeed, he never could be enticed so far by these Men, as to fall into the same Vices with his Son; yet took he so much Pleasure in this Set of Men, that he appointed *Thrasidus* the Flatterer, Lord over his Country; because, tho' he seemingly hated these Set of Men, yet he could never endure to be contradicted, and accordingly slew *Calisthenes* for telling him the Truth: Allowing also *Proclides* the *Tarentine*, albeit he was a Stranger, and a very vain Fellow, to gain so much of his Favour by Flattery, as that he could raise great Troubles and Broils in the Kingdom, when he pleased.

And I've been the longer on this Subject, because the Number of Flatterers are so great at present, that all Persons in Authority, as well as Princes, may be forwarn'd of their Danger; for tho' some may think themselves Wise enough to take Heed of such Caterpillars, yet they may be assured, they feed on Meat that will afterwards hurt their Stomach.

And hence it is requisite to be endued with such Wisdom, that they may never be intoxicated by any Person, but diligently consider the Precept of (*Nosce teipsum*;) and to be Four-squared, like a Dey, which throw it any Way you will, it will fall right; and thereby will they be able to reap Advantage from this Set of Men, so as that, whenever they find themselves flatter'd, they will endeavour to garnish their Minds with these Virtues, in which they were extol'd by the Parasite, to the End they may afterwards be praised with them by Men of Honesty.

For it is easy for a Man of Wit and Parts, especially if he hold nothing sacred, to gain the Favour of Princes, even tho' he may be but of mean Birth, and then, by a Vail of profound Dissimulation, he may come to betray all the Prince's greatest Favourites, especially if he thinks they have a greater Sway with the Prince than Himself; and then, by Flattery and delicate

Praise of those he Designs to ruin, come at last to know their weak Parts, and make the best of them he can.

For 'tis a sure Sign of a Flatterer, nay, even of a Traitor, to acquire first the Nobilities Favour, and at last, if he can, obtain the Prince's, to endeavour to persuade Him, he has none honest about the Throne but himself, whereby he may soon turn the Prince's greatest Friends to be his Enemies; for, by being a Favourite himself, he soon finds a Way to make the King banish and suspect his best Friends, in order, that he may remove from about the Throne, all whom he thinks would hinder his projected Usurpation; and this is very easy to be acquired, even tho' the Prince may want neither Parts nor Talents, if the People be in the least inclined to Rebellion, or if the Prince, like the above-cited *Philip*, be so Humourish, as that he cannot endure to be contradicted, and which Failing in a Prince is easy to be managed Artfully, even by a weak Minister; for, tho' the Prince may have the Scruple of going into these dispo- tick Maxims, which this perfidious Minister would endeavour to inspire him with; 'tis easy to tell the King, That, as the Multitude are incapable of reasoning, so they ought to be governed by an absolute Sway; and thus by a Minister's seasoning his Advices, with seeming Principles of Virtue, (which many Times turns out at last to be nought but a deceitful Mask) the Prince may come so to be induced by him, as to gain the Hatred of all his Subjects, without being sensible of it; a fatal Instance of which, we very lately had, by the barbarous Murder, of the martyr'd *Charles* in our own Country; for it argues great Prudence in a Prince or Statesman, to discover an Inconveniency in the Birth, which, so discovered, is easy to be suppressed: But if once it ripen to a Custom, the Remedy thereof proves oftner worse than the Disease.

For a Prince that would beware of Conspiracies, ought rather to be jealous of those, whom His extraordinary Favour has advanced, than those, whom His Displeasure has discontented; for these want Means to execute their Designs, but they have Means to procure their Desires; for Ambition to rule, is more vehement, than Malice to revenge: And 'tis the Happiness of the People, that makes Happiness to a Prince, their true Interests being necessarily united; and whoever attempts to inspire

Princes with different Maxims, should be looked on as Enemies to the State; for Kings should always be apprehensive, of the Men, who never contradict them, because there needs no further Proof of the Corruption of a Minister, than to see him prefer his Master's Favour, to the Publick Good.

But a wise Prince will know, how to make Advantage of the Talents of a Minister, and never give himself up, blindly to their Counsels, for tho' he may yield a little to Men, yet ought he never to give himself up, absolutely to them: For, tho' a good-natured Prince may get Friends, and Friends, that will not forget he is a Prince; yet, even then, he ought never to be sway'd by Liking, or Inclination, in Affairs of State; for, as a private Person, he may indeed enjoy the Pleasure of Friendship; yet, as he is a Prince, he should resemble the Immortals, who have no Passions.

For, indeed, as 'tis a Matter of Impossibility, for a Prince to manage all himself, and therefore would be imprudent, for him to withhold his Confidence, from the Man he has once honour'd, without manifest Proofs of Perfidy; yet, even then, he ought to know, when to use them prudently, without giving himself up, blindly to them: For there's a *medium* should be observ'd, 'twixt excessive Diffidence, and too great Confidence, because Kings ought to correct themselves, both by Reflection and Experience, else their Government cannot long subsist; for tho' Kings love Magnificence and Reverence from their Subjects, yet, if they would have Virtuous Subjects, they must endeavour to gain their Affection, by shewing the Example of a virtuous Prince; for 'tis much conducive, both to the Safety and Happiness of a King and State; for a Prince to gain the Hearts of his Subjects, for they that love for Fear, will seldom Fear for Love. And 'tis a wise Government that can gain such a Tye on the Subject, as that he either cannot, nor will not hurt. But that Government is best, when the Subjects, joy in their Obedience. And hence Kings ought, to hate all Manner of Vice, and Flattery, be averse to Voluptuousness, and study true Virtue and the Good of the People, knowing that in the Unity of the Head with the Members, consists the Life and Safety of a Body Politick.

Because, it shews much of the Parts and Wisdom of a King, when

they

they find themselves apt to be intoxicated, with the Flattery of an Ambitious Minister, to guard against it; and, as I said, rather let him be suspicious of these Men, whom his many Favours has advanced, than of those whom he has displeased; for the surest Castles a Prince can build, is the Hearts of his Subjects; if he would secure himself either from domestick Com-motions, or foreign Invasions.

And the only Way to gain this, is, in all his Actions, to ap-pear for the publick Good, studious to contrive, and resolute to perform. And this is the Way to guard against the Flat-tery of an Ambitious Minister; for 'tis more excellent for a Prince to have a provident Eye, in preventing future Mischiefs, than a potent Arm to suppress present Evils; for Discontents in a State, are like heftick Fevers in the human Body, in the Beginning hard to be known, but easy to be cured; but, when alone a while, it becomes more easy to be known, but harder to be cured; for it is very dangerous for a Prince to use Ambi-tious Natures, but upon Necessity, either for his Wars, or to be Shreens to his Dangers, or Instruments for demolishing inso-lent Greatness; and, that they may be the less dangerous, he ought always to choose rather from mean Birth, than Nobles of harsh Natures, rather than Plaisible, and always be sure to ballance them with those as proud as themselves.

For Princes should be very circumspect in the Choice of their Counsellors, chusing neither by the Smoothness of the Beard or Face; but let them be Wise, not Crafty; Active, without private Ends, Couragious, without Malice; Religious, without Faction, Secret, without Fraud; and one better skill'd in his Master's Business, than his Nature: In a Word, a Riddle that can only be read above.

For tho' Ministers may display all their Talents, by shew-ing themselves Masters of the Greatest Policy; and above all, that they understand that Rhetorick, which is the principal Science for a Minister, by digesting Affairs with so much Or-der and Clearness, that he may leave his Master little to do, yet notwithstanding all these Things, he ought not to give himself up blindly to their Counsels; for it argues great Weakness in a King, to be so Ignorant in his own Affairs, as that He can see or know of Things himself, but give Himself up blindly

to his Servants; for Ministers commonly, when they observe That Princes love to penetrate to the Bottom of their own Affairs, then will an able and jealous Minister endeavour to cast a Vail over the most important Affairs, in Order to render his Service more useful; but an able and wise Prince may by Degrees draw from him, what he endeavours so artfully to conceal, till at last, being sufficiently instructed, he may reduce his prime Favourite, to his proper Distance, without giving him any just Cause of Offence. And this may easily be perceived, even by a weak Prince, especially if, by the Discontents of the People, he should perceive the least Entrenchment on the Ancient and established Constitution of the Nation, which is the main Way to stir up, and excite the *Odium* of all the People, against the Prince; for it is the Principal Duty of a Statesman, especially in a free State, to hold the Common-wealth to her first Frame of Government, from which the more she swerves, the more she declines, which, being declined, is not easily reduced, without that Extremity, the Danger whereof rather ruins than rectifies a State, fundamental Alterations bringing always inevitable Perils.

And hence will appear the Necessity of Kings having many Counsellors, and especially such as are honest, well experienced, and stricken in Years, in order to direct them to what is best; for tho' the common Proverb, *Many Men, many Minds*, is often the Case; yet, if they should disagree amongst themselves in Affairs of State, by this, the Virtue and Wisdom of the Prince will be able to direct him, to follow the most solid and wisest Judgments, and by this Means will the Prince's Parts come to be known, when he acts prudently, and without Attachment either to one Person or other, but merely studies the Good of the People; for Kings ought to remember that they are Servants to the publick Weal, and therefore forget all private Respects, either of Kin or Friendship, remembring, that, as they are Champions for a Kingdom, so they ought to forget all private Affections either of Love or Hate; for, tho' indeed, it would be ungrateful not to repay a good Action, yet, if he would do his Country Right, he must not be too sensible of a personal Wrong, but govern without Inclination or Affection in Affairs of a State: And this is the Way to make a King re-

verenced and adored by his Subjects, as a Friend and Deliverer of his Country; for a King ought to refuse all Things rather than oppress his Subjects.

And hence, from this also, will appear the Absurdity, or rather Supidity, of those who maintain, that the true Strength of Monarchy, Secrecy in Counsels, and Expedition in Enterprises, depends wholly on the sovereign Power, being lodged in the Hands of one single Person: For tho' indeed Sovereign Authority, be a necessary Evil to prevent greater, yet such an endeavour to instill such Notions in the Minds of Princes, are the most dangerous Persons about a Throne; for by this, they will come to be stirring up new Schemes and Projects, that so, by their Policy, Artifice, and Treachery, they may establish a despotick Sway; but a virtuous and wise Prince may avoid these Snares, and triumph over all the Plots of a Perfidious Minister, and that, without using any such silly Artifice, mean Dissimulation, and tricking Policy being unworthy the Consideration of great and generous Souls.

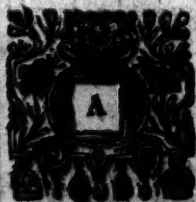
So that, having now gone thro' what I proposed, I think it is plain from hence, that Virtue, Valour, Wisdom, and Probity, are the only Things that all Kings, Governors, and inferior Rulers, should study after; and having thus laid down the Duties of a Prince, and how he may avoid the Secrets of an ambitious Minister, I next come to the Duties of the Subjects, in order to render them a flourishing Realm, so as to form both a happy Prince and People, &c.



THE

THE
FATAL Consequences
 OF
 National Discord, &c.

*OH, when's the Time, that Sacred Write design'd,
 When Violence and Villany shou'd end?
 That Lamb and Lion shou'd in Peace agree,
 And Fox and Turtle join in Unity?
 When this Time comes, true Innocence will Rule,
 And Justice overtake the Knave and Fool.
 But wou'd you have a fine French Rarry-Show?
 The Old cant live, and Fortune will not do;
 Shuffle, and cut, turn up, see what d'ye lake,
 T——g Rag, and H——g, there's Knaves enew' the Pack,
 French Faith, French Truth, French Alamode,
 Tho' France to Rome, you know's the common Road.*



AS Virtue, Valour and Probity then, are Three necessary Qualities, towards the forming of a wise Prince; so Unity, Love and Concord, are three Things absolutely requisite for the People, in order to promote a flourishing Realm.

For, as in the Probity of the the Head, consists the Safety of the Members,

Members, so in the Unity of the Members, consists the Strength of the Body politick; but then, as Unity, Probity, Virtue, Valour, Love, and Concord, are all of them but as so many Links of the same Chain, so they must not be separated; for where Virtue Reigns, there Unity will have Dominion, and where Unity domineers, true Valour and Probity will be propagated; and where True Valour and Probity prevails, then all Manner of Love, Concord and Harmony will succeed, so that all these seem to be but so many Titles expressive of the same Ideas.

But then, as Virtue seems to be the Principal, on which the rest, as so many Different Links, are hang'd, so, in Order to propagate the rest, I must of Necessity define it,

VIRTUE then, in its most general Sense, consists in an exact Observance of the Laws of Nature, according to that Subordination in which they are Placed, by the wise Author of Nature; and which Subordination every one feels within himself, or must at least acknowledge, and 'tis Acting accordingly to that Subordination, That true Virtue Consists; so that as Virtue is the first Principle of Morality, so consequently is it the Fundamental Maxims of all Manner of social Unity; inasmuch, as that the Man not truly Virtuous, can never be call'd Religious; for it is in this chiefly that Religion consists, the Principal Part of our Duty, towards God, consisting in the Performance of our Duty towards Mankind, according to these Laws which he has prescrib'd. And hence, as Religion is absolutely Necessary towards the well Governing of a Common-wealth, so Consequently the Man not truly Religious, must be an Enemy to all Manner of Society; for as, by the Rules of Moral Philosophy and Simple Virtue, we are only taught to curb Vice; yet, by the Laws of true Religion and Christianity, we are taught to Root it out altogether; so that unless a Man be truly Religious, he can never be term'd truly Virtuous, Piety and Policy being like two Sisters, that ought to be inseparable; for Policy would soon fail us, if our Piety did not help, and then again, when Piety Suffers, Policy ought not to be idle.

So that no State can be call'd truly happy, unless Piety and Policy go Hand in Hand; but where those are joined, then War will

will be just, and Peace honourable; for it is an infallible Sign of approaching Ruin in a Realm, when Religion is Neglected, and her established Ceremonies Interrupted; let therefore him that would be Potent, be Pious, and that he may punish Vice the better, let him be Religious; for true Religion is a Settler, rather than a Stickler in a State: Whilst she confirms an established Government, then she moves in her own Sphere; but when she Endeavours to alter the Old, and Erect a New, then she moves out of her own Vineyard, tho' whilst she keeps the Keys, then sends she Showers of Milk; let Princes then labour to Settle true Religion in a Church, and Religion will settle Peace in the Land. But, alas! How is true Religion Neglected at present, nothing but Dissention and Animosities, prevailing both in Church and State! For me-thinks, Religion at present is only wore amongst us as a Cloke, Honesty as a Pair of Shoes, quite wore out in the Dirt, and Conscience as a Pair of Breeches, which, tho' they ought to serve, as a Covert from Lewdness as well as Nastiness, yet is easily slipt down to the Service of both.

And hence, I think it very requisite for a Prince, to keep always a special and provident Eye on the Clergy, That they may neither be too Powerful, nor at the same Time be wanting Authority among the People, but alway Remain in *Equilibrio* with the State; for most happy is that People, where *Moses* commands *Aaron*, *Aaron* the People, and both are guided by GOD and true Religion; then indeed will War be just, then will Peace be honourable, then will Expeditions be fruitful, then will true Unity prevail amongst the People, and they will be inspired with a Love to their Prince, in so much as that, if they be Engaged in a War, they will Fight valiantly, when they know that they Fight for GOD; for it adds Fire to the Spirit of a Soldier, to be assur'd that they shall either Prosper in a fair War, or Perish in a just Cause: And as it is Necessary Wisdom in a Prince, to grow in Strength as he grows in Dominion; so it shews no less Virtue in the People, to be all united as one in Resolution and Courage; and hence, he should Endeavour to Captivate the Hearts of the People, by shewing the Example of a Virtuous Prince.

For, as I said, In the Unity of the Subjects, consists the Strength

Strength of the Kingdom; so the Strongest Castle a Prince can build is the Hearts of his Subjects, those are his safest Citadales, if he wants either to secure himself from Domestick Commotions, or foreign Invasions, as the surest Fortresses again, are the Hands of the Soldiers. But then as this Unity, so Necessary towards the Strength of a Kingdom, cannot be propogated, without Virtue in the Prince, as well as Subjects; therefore, in order to the Propagation of this, so universal a National Good, I shall Endeavour to take it in a more extensive Sense, and, by dividing and subdividing it, to its proper Constituents, I'll thereby Endeavour to define its Branches.

For tho indeed the Minds of Men are so addicted to their Passions, that they would rather Sacrifice the Publick Good than give up with any private Appetite of their own; and as it is impossible to alter their Natures, even by the wisest Laws that can be made. And hence, it was that *Trismegistus*, and others of the wisest Philosophers concealed the Mysteries of their Religion, under Smilitudes and Allegories, making known only to the Vulgar, the Beauties of their Morality, and which also has been the Custom of the wisest Sages and Legislators at all Times, and in all Countries, in order, first to captivate the Hearts of the People; knowing, that corrupted Minds were not capable of relishing Divine Truths, till the Heart was once purged from its Passions.

Yet I think, we labour under no such Difficulty at present, since we have the Honour, above other Nations, of the Mysteries of our Sacred Religion, plainly discover'd in that Collection of Holy Writings, commonly called, *The Bible*, which are sufficient to teach us our Duty towards God, as by the Rules of Virtue, and Moral Philosophy again, we come to know it with Respect to our Neighbours; for tho' indeed Holy Writings teach us both these Duties, yet have we need of Education also, in order to elivate us the more, and this is the only way to sooth and tame Mens Minds, so as they shall be enabled to root out all these Passions, and inordinate Affections, that they are naturally endowed with.

In order then, to propagate this Virtue, so necessary towards the Foundation of Unity, it behoves a Man, as I said, to be Religious, and this is all the Virtues in One, for without true Religion, a Man can never become truly virtuous; but then,

then, as human Frailties are great, tho' a Man may be truly Religious, yet may he not excell, in a great many of the most necessary and principal Virtues, that are requisite for him, in order to perform his Duty, as a Fellow-Creature, and Countryman, &c. For, as all Men are not equally apt for all Things, so, Consequently, every Man, let him be never so good and religious, hath always some Failings or other, whilst in this Frail and Mortal State of Things; therefore, I think it an Affair of the greatest Importance, for Men to be well known and instructed, in all these Virtues that are requisite for them, as sociable Companions; and it is on this Account that I shall Endeavour, in as far as I can, to describe them.

VIRTUE then, is either speculative or practick, or, if you please, contemplative or active; the speculative or intellectual Virtues are Five, viz. *Intellectus, Sapientia, Scientia, Ars & Prudentia*.

The active again, are Four, viz. *Fortitudo, Justitia, Temperantia & Prudentia*.

As for the Speculative then, to wit the Arts and Sciences, which are only so many different Branches of Sapience, or Wisdom, I think, every one will acknowledge, that they are so necessary, towards the Propagation of Virtue, that 'tis almost needless to insist any further on them; for, as by the Arts we are always employ'd, in some necessitous Business, so Consequently preserved from falling into wilful Vice.

So, on the contrary again, by the Study of the sublime Sciences, we are brought nearer, as it were, to the Nature of our Creator; so as that, by Studying his Divine Perfections in the Works of Nature, we become so acquainted with his Majesty, as that we shall not dare to offend Him, but rather study to come nearer His Nature, by Endeavouring to imitate Him in all His imitable Perfections: In a Word, 'tis by the good Education of Youth that we must alone expect, to instill virtuous Habits in them; For as by this, we are made Affable, Courteous, and Humane; so, Consequently, we come to be inspired, not only with a Love to our Country in general, but to each Individual of our Fellow-Creatures in Particular; and 'tis, for this very Reason, That GOD has endowed us, with reasonable Faculties; and so it must be contrary

contrary to His Nature, but to be well satisfied, when he observes his Creatures improving these Talents, that he has bestowed on them, to the Advantage of their Neighbours.

And as for the *Intellectus*, or Understanding, tho' it is employed in every one of these, yet, as it effectuates mostly Divine Things, being one of the Principal Faculties of the Soul; therefore, I shall not at present insist on it, leaving also Prudence, since she is employed by us, both as an Intellective and Active Faculty, till a more proper Place; and therefore, I shall go on to the other Virues, called the Active.

The Active Virtues then, as I said, are Four, *viz.* *Fortitudo*, *Iustitia*, *Temperantia*, & *Prudentia*: And these are called, the Four Cardinal or Principal Moral ones, from which Proceeds, as so many vegetable Branches, Liberality, Magnanimity, Magnificence, Mansuetude, Desire of Honour, Verity, Affability, and Urbanity: So that, as they are called Cardinal Virtues, they come up equally to the Cardinal Number of Twelve. I shall then, begin with the First, which is called Fortitude, and is a Thing so necessary for all Kings and Princes, as that they, who want it, are justly termed Fools and Cowards.

FORTITUDE, then, or Valour, is an Active Virtue, consisting chiefly in the Valiant Defence of our most valuable Rights and Privileges, even tho' at the Peril of our Lives, keeping always a due Medium 'twixt Fool-Hardiness and Cowardice, teaching us to undergo even Fearful, Terrible and Difficult Things, which, tho' they may Cause Grief and Pain, yet the Valiant Man is willing to endure chearfully, when Time Place, and an honest Cause commands him; and this is the truly Valorous Man, who thinks nothing so dear to him, as the Good of his Country, and who, by esteeming his Reputation, rather than Life, will Valiantly adventure for Honesty's Sake.

Tho', on the Contrary, to put a Man's Life in Danger, when there is not Convenient Opportunity, or on any trifling Occasion, a Thing that's too common in the Age, is not Valiant, but Fool-Hardiness, for 'tis only venturing One's Life for Virtue and Honesty's Sake, that properly entitles a Man to be accounted valiant among

wise Men.

For, if Wisdom be not match'd with Valour, there is it certainly of more Hurt than Benefit to those who enjoy it; but, by this, will the Mind become invincible against all Misfortunes, and yet not raise itself for prosperous Events; for by resisting the Assaults of Fortune, he is always the same, knowing that Virtue has its own Reward; but I now come to the second of these *Virtues* I propos'd, *viz. Temperance*.

TEMPERANCE then, is nothing else, but the Restricting within due Bounds all our inordinate Affections by the Bridle of Modesty; and by sober and advised Language telling us, that there's nothing comely, but what is decent, and nothing decent, but what is honest, and nothing honest again, but what is *Virtuous* and Comely.

And hence *Plato* very wisely called her the Guardian and Safe-keeper of all true *Virtues*; because by this are we Taught to use a Moderation in all Things, by bridling our Affections, so as that in Publick we shall never attempt any thing, but what is commendable, and honest, and is the only One of all the other *Virtues*, that bears the nearest Propinquity to Prudence; and as it is the Power of the Soul, from whence proceeds all Manner of concupiscible Appetites, so as these are most natural to Men, they shou'd be most guarded against, and is the Virtue of all *Virtues*, that ought mostly to be followed by Princes, and Governors, because without it, they could not so much as execute the wisest Laws; and hence it was a very wise Answer of a certain great Man, when he was ask'd, what was the wisest Method of Governing Kingdoms? He wrote down on a large Piece of Paper, three times the Word, *Modus*; by which he Meant Moderation in all Things; And indeed the very wisest Laws that can be made, if they be executed without Temperance, and Prudence &c. May degenerate to the greatest Tyranny. So that having thus given you an Idea of Temperance, I next come to the third of these *Virtues* I propos'd, *viz. Liberality*.

LIBERALITY then, is that which is employ'd in giving, and receiving, conveniently, being plac'd twixt two Extremes, *viz. Avarice*, and *Prodigality*, for as *Avarice* taketh always more than is requisite, so it commonly giveth less than is needful; as *Prodigality* again giveth always more than is convenient; and he who can carry himself equally 'twixt these

two Extreame, may justly be term'd Liberal, by giving when, where, to whom, and in such a way, as is most fit in respect of Honesty, and to this also is joined *Magnificence*.

MAGNIFICENCE, which is a Virtue also employed in Riches, and is that which teacheth us, to use great Things, to such as are to have long Continuance, or are done in respect of Virtue such as rich Buildings, sumptuous Furniture, &c.

Arm in Arm with this goes Magnanimity, attended by Mansuetude, Desire of Honour, Verity, Affability, and Urbanity; all which appertain, to a civil Life; and are very proper for breeding Honesty, Dignity and Honour, &c.

MAGNANIMITY then, has such a Resemblance with Valour, and Fortitude, that its almost needless to insist on it; for as there can be no true Valour without Magnanimity, so there can be no true Magnanimity without Virtue; the truly Magnanimous Man being he, who despiseth Revenge, by crubing also all Manner of Ingratitude, which is the basest of all Vice, being not only contrair to Honesty, but a cruel Beastliness, in so much that he who forgets Benefits received can neither be called honest, or generous minded; because, as from Gratitude proceeds, all Manner of Love, both for Kindred and Country; so from Ingratitude, again, proceeds all Manner of Vice, to the perpetual Infamy, of him that's Ungrateful: For where no Gratitude prevails, there can be no Religion, or Piety, Love, or Faith; and where all these are wanting, consequently Goodness, Justice, and even Honesty, itself, must vanish.

As the waiting Maid of Magnanimity, comes the next, which is called *Mansuetude*.

MANSUETUDE then, is that Virtue, which, as a Queen prescribes us a Medium, 'twixt Revenge and Coldness, or Insensibility, of Wrongs receiv'd; so that by holding the Reins in her Hand, she teaches us to Bridle, the Vehemency of Anger, by shewing us when, how long, at what Time, and for what Cause, 'tis proper to be Angry; and on the contrair again, to let loose and Spur forward the Mind, that is resting, or slow, in apprehending, the Wrongs, for which there is just Cause of Wrath; so that the next to this is

DESIRE OF HONOUR, this is as great a Branch, of Magnanimity; as Magnificence, is of Liberality; only as the Magnanimous

Magnanimous Man, seeketh great and Excessive Honours, come what way they will, whether by lawful, or unlawful Agents, nay even spare not to undergo the Indignity of Sacrificing the Publick Good for their own private Interest ; which Sett of People, may properly enough be term'd Ambitious Men : But this Virtue, is that which teacheth us A Medium, 'twixt lawful and unlawful Agents, being plac'd to hold the Reins 'twixt two Extreame, by teaching us to be careful of our Honour, yet not too fond of procuring it, come what way it will, whether by Corruption, Deceit, or otherwise, as many in this our Day are ready to do, by either Slandering, or Backbiting, such as are their Competitors, or else with Cape, and Knee, Crouching to those who they think, may in the least yield Help, or Favour them in their Purchase, &c.

VERITY then, is the next, being that which in all our Words, Actions, and Conversation, &c. Sheweth Truth ; thereby declaring them to be Honest, by teaching us a Medium 'twixt two Extreame, viz. Dissimulation, or Jestings, and vain Boasting : Verity being the Virtue of all others, most becoming a Gentleman, by making him respected and welcome in all Companies ; for it is a very fatal Miscarriage, to Order Affairs so ill, as to pass for a Fool in one Company, when in another you might be taken for a Philosopher ; and in Order to this comes the next Virtue commonly call'd *Affability*.

AFFABILITY then, is that Virtue, which teaches us a certain Medium, in our Life, and Conversation, so as to become not only Courteous and Humane, but also to discover the Degrees of Persons, of Times, and of Places, and finally to make our selves welcome, every where, without Flattery, not forgetting our own Reputation, so that we may be esteemed neither Ridiculous Sycophants, or Morose Clowns : But then as Men are apt to go to Excess in their Conversations, hence have they need of that Branch of Magnanimity commonly call'd,

URBANITY, which tho' a Latin Name, yet since we can't better express it in English, we must allow it to pass in Order, to be Dennizen'd amongst us ; and this is that Virtue, which teaches us a Medium, 'twixt Rusticity and Knavish Jestings, thereby enabling us, to refrain from all witty, bitter, and overbiting Scurrilous Speeches, that may in any ways be offensive to any ; and is a Thing most odious, in the Sight of all Virtuous and Wise Men ; because, as Satyr is a Sort of Glass, wherein Beholders do generally

See every bodies Face, but their own, very few are offended at it, but only esteem the Company of those ridiculous Fellows as Odious, because we ought to have a due Regard, to the Times, Place, Persons, and other Circumstances, according to which we are to move our Jests and Merriments, &c.

So that from this is plain, that true Virtue consists only, in keeping a due Medium, 'twixt two Extreame, and where ever the contrary of this appears, then may it properly enough be call'd Vice; and hence *Chilo* very wisely includes all Virtues, in these three Words, (*ne quid nimis*) which is as much as to say, all Overs, are Vice; so that having thus gone throw all the different Branches of Magnanimity, I next proceed to, the other two remaining Virtues, of the Four First Mention'd Principal or Cardinal ones, and the First that Occurs is Justice.

JUSTITIA, or Justice then, is a Habit whereby is known what is Just, and the same accordingly desir'd and done, and is that which the Antients term'd an Uncorrupted Virgin, because she is such an Friend to Bashfulness and Modesty, whereby Men are made worthy of Reverence, and by which they learn the Mean and Manner of Distribution, and Commutation, by recompencing Virtue, as much, as it deserves, without Equality of Number, but Measure; as *Aristotle*, in his Rhetoricks demonstrates, and in a general Sense, may well be said to contain, all the other Moral Virtues; but as I shall have Occassion afterwards to mention it: Tho' here as I only speak of her as a Cardinal Virtue, I shall say no more at present, but come to the next *viz.* Prudence.

PRUDENCE then, is nothing else, but the Light of Reason, whereby a Man can perceive, what is, fit, or unfit, to be done; and to foresee the Events to follow any foolish Action, and this is what is called Prudence; being a Virtue of the Understanding, and the Rule and Measure of all other Moral ones, concerning our Actions, and Effects, being both an active, and intellectuall Virtue; for as Reason guides us naturally to civil Actions; so by our Contemplative, or intellectuall Faculty, are we led naturally to the Study of Things Divine or Eternal; about which, albeit Prudence be Employ'd, yet is she more taken up with Things subject to Change; that may be, or not be, may be done, or not be done, in a word mostly about things Fortunate; about which there can be no certain

Truths

Truths, as of Things Eternal; so that without Prudence and
 Virtuous Operation can be brought to pass, being the safe Guard-
 ian of all other Moral Virtues, because without it, they would
 remain of little Service: So that the principal Office of this
 Virtue is, to Consider, and apprehend, not only our own
 Profit in Particular, but also the universal Benefit of Mankind
 in General, so far as is consistent with our own Conveniences:
 Enabling us to see, and so to chuse, what is best, by refusing
 what ought to be forsaken; so that she may well be term'd
 the Root of all other Moral ones; because when joined with
 Temperance, in Princes, Governors, and Rulers, then of
 Consequence, Unity amongst their People will follow; because
 they will become all Unanimous, in following the Example of
 their Superiours, when they find Wisdom, as it were imprinted
 in their Actions: Then will they all Endeavour as it were with
 one Voice, to study Unity, by yielding Obedience to their
 Superiours, from a Love to their Prince; for if a King or Prince
 wou'd desire Virtuous Subjects, then let the Subjects be ho-
 nour'd with a Virtuous Prince, and where Virtue is promoted, there
 consequently all Manner of Unity will prevail; for as Men are
 more apt to follow Example than Precept, so it must only be,
 by the Compulsion, of wise Laws, that a Virtuous People can be
 form'd, and when they find a strict Observance of these Laws,
 by the Legislators themselves: and this is the only Way to
 propogate Unity and all Manner of Virtue, amongst the Sub-
 jects; for Virtue is nothing else, but an Act of loving that
 which ought to be belov'd, and is praise worthy; from whence
 not to be remov'd by constraint, is Fortitude; not to be en-
 tic'd by Allurements is Temperance, not to be directed, by Pride,
 is Justice; and the declining this Act is Vice.

And hence Princes if they would study their own Advantage,
 as well as that of the Subjects, ought strictly to observe the Na-
 tional Virtues, and Vices, and by their wise Laws, if Virtue
 prevails, to encourage it, if Vice, to curb it, for if a King,
 like *Manlius*, commands stout and great Things, he ought also
 like *Manlius* to be stout in executing great Commands, for
 it argues great Blemish in Sovereignty, when the Will roars, and
 the Power only Whispers; for methinks Virtue, and Magnani-
 mity, is so much decay'd at present among us, that 'tis only
 come to be looked on, as a politique Phantom, and meer Matter
 of

of Indifferency, from which Men ought to get free, when at any Time, they may indulge themselves, in secret; This is too much the Nature of Men at present, and its only from the intemperateness of the concupiscible Appetites, among great Men, makes Vice so much prevail amongst the Vulgar, and more Illiterate, who are always more apt to follow Example than Precept: And hence all Manner of Unity, and Love to Social Lives, comes to be decay'd; Men love themselves, too much, to love a Friend, when nothing but self Interest prevails, by which all Manner of Luxury, Anarchy, and Effeminacy comes to be introduc'd; and which three Things, has been the fatal Circle, and different Periods of a Politique Life in almost all Ages. For when Men comes to indulge themselves too much in Pleasure, then all Manner of Love decays, and comes only to be without Delicacy, for the Women will think themselves affronted, if no Attempts are made upon their Honesty, and in short, the Days come to be spent so much in Effeminacy, that the Love of Glory, severe Honour, and strict Probity, comes to be no longer in Esteem; all solid Knowledge comes to be despis'd; agreeable trifling, fine spun Thoughts, and lively Sallys of Imagination, come to be the only kinds of Wit admir'd: And which Persons, as I in the introduction hinted at, the wise *Solon*, on his being institute Archon among the *Athenians*, made a Law, declaring all such incapable of publick Employment, who cou'd give no other Testimony of their Valour, and indeed I'm asham'd to think, that, true Valour and Magnanimity, should be so much depress'd, as, at present, amongst us Britains, who formerly were renoun'd for being the most Valiant of all Nations, no wonder Dissentions, and Animosities shou'd prevail in a State, when nothing but Luxury and Effeminacy is encourag'd: For my own Part, I can adduce no other Solution of this Phænomenon; than the Luxurious, way, of educating Youth at present, and by the publick Distribution of Posts and Pensions even suppose they be not above 10 or 12 Years of Age, yet he must forthwith be provided in a Company and sent to Flanders amongst the rest; altho' perhaps he has no other Qualification than to be able to swear, and Blaspheme, Lye and Deceive his Neighbours, whereby all Manner of Love to our Country has so vanish'd from amongst us, that if any refuse, to pay a fawning Submission to Ministerial Tools, that Person let him be never so

wife

wife, never so prudent, must immediately be dismissed from his Office. and a motly Whig, or insignificant Tory succeeds his Place, which Persons on all Occasions will be ready for their own selfe Interest to Sacrifice both their Religion, Loyalty, and Liberty; for shame! such Practices should still continue amongst us, when we are at present engag'd in such a tedious and Dangerous War; the fatal Consequence of which has already too much shown itself by our unfruitful Expeditions both by Sea and Land: For we find it has been the general Opinion of wise Men in all Ages, that none under the Age of 30, 40, or 25, at least, cou'd hold any publick Employment; hence *Pliny*, in his *Panygirick*, when treating of the *lego Pompeia*. *Tully* in his *Book of Offices*, *Ulpian* in his *Lib. 8. Dig.* with many other, all jointly agree with this: And the Reason is obvious, because, as Wit without Knowledge, is like a Sort of Cream that gathers to the top in a Night, and by a skillful Hand may be soon whip'd to froth, and if this is once taken away, what appears underneath, is fit for nought, but to be thrown at the Hogs; so in like Manner, as Knowledge is a Thing makes a Man meet for governing himself, hence as this can only be acquir'd by long Study and Experience; therefore wise Men have very justly concluded, Youth can't be prudent.

And hence also from this, will appear the Absurdity, of making young Men Heads of Expeditions, even suppose they may well enough understand Military Discipline, this being the only way to Create a Fruitlessnes in them all, for as the knowledge of Universalities proceeds only from singularities, and hence as Knowledge can't be acquir'd to, without Years and Experince, consequently the exposing Men's Lives to the command of a few hot Headed young Men, who for want of Prudence, run to all manner of Extreams, without taking Advice, can't miss but to produce the worst of Consequences; and hence from this proceeds Fruitlessnes, in Expeditions, which, of Consequence will produce Discontents, in the Minds of the Subjects, and Consequently all Manner of Anarchy, and Confusion, must succeed: For as Effeminacy, and Anarchy are Bretheren and Sisters of Lust and Avarice; and these again only the collaterall Branches of Pride, Consequently they become the natural Foundation of all Manner of Quarrells; for if any will be pleas'd to search into the Records of Time, they'll find that War is only the Child of Pride, and hence as Pride propagates

WAR

War, the Necessity of Youth, not being intrusted too soon with the Command of others, will evidently appear: for by this means will they turn Proud, and hence as War is the subsequent thereof. Consequently where both these prevail, Civil Quarrels must be propagated, and hence Trade and Commerce Necessarily decaying, we must consequently be expos'd to the utmost Anarchy; but besides all this, as Pride is not only the Devil of War, but also either the Forerunner of Poverty, or concomitant of Plenty, hence as Invasions love to Travel from North to South, i. e. from Poverty to Plenty. Consequently this is the main way to invite the Enemy to invade us, for as the Subjects will thereby be Impoverish'd, by Reason of their Maintaining needless great Armies; Consequently, Commerce must decay by Reason of the Money being taken out of their Hands, and hence as Money is a sure Pledge of Commerce with other Nations, they will thereby be render'd unable, to prosecute the same, and hence Commerce thus Gradually decaying, they will also be render'd unable, either of Securing themselves against the Oppression of the Rich, or Corruption of the Minister, and thereby the whole Nation will be plung'd into the utmost Anarchy, Popular Discords will arise, private Umbrages will be propagated amongst Courtiers, till at last Foreign Hostility, reconcile the Cause: And I make no doubt but this together with our Backwardness for entering at first, into the present War, has been the sole Reason that induc'd our Enemies to stand out so long, and Obstinate against us: For it argues Perilous Weakness in a State, to be slow of Resolution, in Time of War; because to be irresolute in Determination, is not only the Symptom, but the sure and infallible Sign of a weak State, slow Deliberations being Signs either of faint Courage, weak Forces, or false Hearts; and indeed when Luxury and Effeminacy comes to prevail so much in an Army, as at present, and these Armies mostly compos'd of Youths and Children, there is just Cause for faint Courage, for of Consequence, these Forces must be Weak.

And as for the Falseness of the Heart, tho' GOD above must be Judge in these Matters, yet I'm afraid, we have too solid Ground to believe, there has been such of late; for it argues great Weakness in either King or Councillor, to make a Foreign Kingdom strong, he that gives Means to another to become Powerfull, weakens himself, and Enables his Friend, to take the Advantage thereof; but if Neighbouring Princes fall out, they ought to show themselves

either a true Friend or a fair Foe, for 'tis Indifference, may even argue a want of Fortitude and Magnanimity, and consequently a Lack of all other Virtues, to adhere to him whom we have most Cause to Fear, for if he Vanquish, Neutrality is Dangerous, and we become a Necessary Prey to the Conqueror.

And now proud *France* bids us stand by, telling us she alone shall be sole Empress of *Europe*: Is this the Case then? It ought to be the chief Concern of every true Hearted *Britain* to stand to the Cause, and let her see, we are yet able to curb Her insolent Greatness: It is one of the Compliments, that the Duke of *Aras* passes on *England*, in his Book of Compliments, that she is like a mighty Animal, that can't be devour'd but by Herself; and was this the Case then before the Union of the two Crowns, (with *England*) sure it may much more be said of her now, since she is so happily United; with her Valiant Neighbouring Nation; how much Occasion then is there at present for a more than ordinary Unanimity and Dispatch, for Defending our Antient Honour, and for Unity betwixt the two Nations, in Particular; especially since we're at present Engaged in a War, with such powerfull Popish Enemies, how great Occasion is there for Curbing them, and if we are all Unanimously join'd in one, like true *Britons*, I make no Question, but we may yet let them see the Danger they are in: Most Noble *Peers*, as well as *Commons*, 'tis to you I adress my self, and 'tis You and You alone, Most Noble *Peers*, who by your Education ought to know the secret Designs, and hidden Policy of Men, Join therefore unanimously like true *Britons*, in Endeavouring to curb the insolency of Foreign Power; for if all those Projects, which *France* seems to be artfully carrying on thro' *Europe*, shall succeed, I make no Doubt, but we soon may see a Court of Inquisition established thro' the same, for I am perswaded, if ever Papal Power shou'd again insinuate itself thro' this Land, they'd neither spare Male nor Female, Friend or Foe, if they wou'd not join also with them in their Religion; as even *France* herself has formerly done, witness that Edict that pass'd at *Paris*, by *Lewis Le Grand* March 24th, Ratified in Parliament 31st *ditto*: Whereby it was enacted, that the Romish Religion, shou'd not only be the chief in *France*, but the Transgressor, if a Man, shou'd be put to the Gallies, if a Woman shou'd, and confin'd for ever, with Confiscation of Movables and Estate, and if they were to rise in Arms, to suffer Death; and all Preachers to be punish'd with the same.

Since then; *Romish* Idolatry is such a fearful Thing, how ought we to guard against it; Witness the Bloody Massacres of *Ireland*, and *Paris*, where many thousands were not only put to Flight but Beggary. The Executioners appearing rather like Hell Furies, then Human Shapes, making them die many Deaths, in place of one; Instances innumerable cou'd be shown, of the Popes themselves, breaking the most sacred Oaths, and making Kings and Princes, creep at their Shadows; are we then to believe that these Princes, who acknowledge the Pope for their Crown, will ever keep Faith with Protestants: Call also the many other Massacres and Bloodsheds to your Remembrance, the many Breaches of Engagements, and Trains of Barbarous Usage, as Ripping up of Women with Child; Instances innumerable are not wanting: I'm sure you can't miss but be induc'd to stand against them, even at the Peril of your Lives, the present Time, requires it therefore of us, to Study a more then ordinar Unanimity, for if a Kingdom be divided against a Kingdom, that Kingdom can't stand, is it for Protestants then to stand against Protestants, by such silly Distinction, as Courtier and Countryman, high Church, and low Church, with the old insignificant Cant, of *Whig* and *Tory*; join then all in one Voice for the Good of the People, by shewing yourselves like Men of Virtue, and Valour, by standing up for the good of *Zion*, and the Defence and Maintenance of your most valuable Protestant Laws: Consider then, that the Voice of the Times call alow'd for us to do so, for never did Affairs appear in such a gloomy State before, let therefore, no Jarrs or Discords be maintained amongst you, most Noble Peers; but be careful to weigh all Designs seriously in the Flower, as well as in the Fruit, for he must be unthrif of his Judgment, who undertakes a Design, the procuring whereof, wou'd bring more Disgrace, than the Success can gain of Honour; mind then no self Interest, when the Cause of Religion and Liberty is at Hand, and when we're engag'd in a War with such powerful Popish Nations, and you who trust *France* for Assistance, mind this, she has already deceived you, and tho' she may promise well, yet *French* Faith is never to be rely'd on; for to be sure she will always be for herself and her Religion, and for no others, but these who join with her in the same; avoid then all Pactions with Nations, whose Religion obliges them, to treat you as Hereticks; for I'm perswaded if *France* shou'd prevail

in all these Projects, that she too artfully seems to be carrying on thro' *Europe*; the next Cant wou'd be, since I'm now Sole Empress, let me now propagate my Religion: The Times then at present call aloud for us, to oppose her Designs, be not therefore slow at War, with your implacable Enemies: Soldiers Arm yourselves with Hopes, the Passage of Providence lyes thro' many crooked Ways, but a faint Heart, is the true Prophet of approaching Evil; Soldiers put on Courage then, whatever Disaster may happen, let not your Hearts fail, since the Cause is *Gods*.

And hence, 'tis the Part of all wise Commanders; in Time of War, either offensive or defensive, to work a Necessity of Fighting in the Minds of the Soldiers, for Necessity of Action takes away the Fear of the Act, and makes bold Resolution become the Favourite of Fortune.

And hence also, as its Necessary Wisdom, in a Commander, to manage his Armies in this Fashion; So it shews no less Wisdom in a Prince, after having levy'd great Armies, when he finds himself too weak, either thro' Want of Men, or Money, not to delay an Engagement, else the greater will the Inconveniency turn; for when once his Army falls asunder, then he certainly loses by his Delay: When on the contrary again, by hazarding Fortune betimes, he has the Advantage of his Men, and may by Fortune win the Cause; for 'tis less Dishonour to be overcome, by Force, than Flight: And from this will appear the Necessity of wise Commanders, studying to make their Soldiers confident, not only of their own Wisdom, but strength; and if any Danger be, to conceal it, if Manifest to lessen it, by possessing the Army, with a justness of the Cause, and a certainty of the Victory; for a good Cause, makes a stout Heart, and a strong Arm, because it adds Fire to the Spirit of a Soldier, to be assur'd he shall either prosper in a fair War, or perish in a just Cause: For tho' indeed in all Designs, that require not sudden Execution, we ought to take mature Deliberation, by weighing the Convenients, with the Inconvenients, yet after Resolution, the Execution ought not to be delay'd: For if one Prince be desirous to obtain a Favour from another, let him, if occasion will bear it, give no Time to advise, but shew the Necessity of a sudden Resolution, and the Danger, either of Denyal or Delay: for he that gives Time to resolve, gives warning to prepare, and therefore to deny; because to be Slow is dangerous, but to be Neutral, is no

Evident

Evident Sign of approaching Ruin : And indeed 'tis not much to be wonder'd at, why His present *Brave M—y*, would never consent to shew the least Favour to *France*, but rather lye neutral as Elector of *Hanover*, when he saw the *French* would carry; tho' as King of *Britain* necessarily oblig'd to be active, at the late Election of the Duke *Bavaria*, to the Imperial Dignity. Especially if it be consider'd, that his own Royal Father, of worthy Memory, was so lately employ'd in Writing to the same House, about the Relief of the Protestants under them : When they were suffering almost the same Oppressions, and like Barbarous Usage, with those in *France*, as may appear by his Royal Letter dated at *Harten House*, September 22, 1715, whilst his *Prussian* Majesty was also employ'd in the like Subject, with the King of *Polland*, who is now closely Allay'd to *France* : Is not then this solid Matter for you, most Noble Peers, Patriots, and Commoners, to crucify that grand Idoll Self, by endeavouring to scrub the haughty Pride of the Man of Sin, when you observe, so many Plots, that not only have been, but even as yet seems to be, most artfully carrying on, against our most valuable Protestant Laws : Most noble Peers, 'tis You, and You alone, who by your Education ought to know the secret Designs, and hidden Policy of Men ; and to you chiefly I address my self, and to you the Cry is loud, *Englishmen*, as well as *Scotsmen*, Peers and Commoners, nay and to each Individual, In particular, the Cry is loud ; stand to your Country, for never did Affairs appear with such a Gloomy Aspect before, is it not high Time then for you to awake from your Sleep, and stand your Ground, for never was there more Need, banish therefore *Self*, Crucify it, Crucify it, away with it, away with it, marry a fair Kingdom, and firm Monarchy has it ruin'd ; consider then that your Religion, and Liberty, nay and your All, is at stake ; *Englishmen* be stout, you have the Lion for your *Motto*, Endeavour then to imitate the Lion of the Tribe of *Judah*, to whom Power was given to open the Book of Secrets, and by your joint Endeavours, do you discover the hidden Designs and Policy of Men ; *Scotsmen* be bold, you have the Thistle for your *Motto*, may its Pricks then stir up and awaken, the bold Lion to its Duty ; by letting all our Enemies know, that the North is too cold a Climate for Southern Bodies, and consequently, that War there is dangerous : Let no private Bains, ever dis-

into you, seek not great Things to yourselves like *Barabbas*, but the Good of the People, like *Mordecai*; with the Preservation of our most Valuable Protestant Laws; let therefore a most publick Spirit be entertain'd amongst you: So that having thus describ'd the Virtues as I propos'd, I come next to Unity, which is my main Intent, I have already shewn, that where there is no Virtue, Consequently there can be no Unity, and where there is no Unity, then all Manner of Anarchy must have the Dominion; because true Unity, consists only in true Virtue, and there can be no true Virtue without a Conjunction of all these describ'd.

But then as all Men are not equally apt for all Things, and so consequently can't all be endow'd with the like Virtues. Yet as the Practise of the one Vice, leads to Another, so are all the Virtues so link'd, as it were in a Chain, that they can't be separated; but then such is the Frailties of Human Nature, that tho' a Man may be endow'd with them all, yet can't he equally excell in them, and hence he is call'd Valiant, Just, or Prudent, &c. According as he inclineth more, to the one, or other, in his Actions, for as we can't equally excell in them; Consequently one of them must bear Sway.

Of all these then, that tend most to the Promotion of Unity, Justice is most Necessary; for in Order for Kings, Rulers, or Governors, to gain the Love and affection of their People, they must have a due Regard to Poise themselves equally in the Scales of Justice without Partiality; and hence we find, *Hesiod*, as well as *Plato*, comparing the just Man to the very Gods themselves, to whom indeed they bear a near Affay; for it behoves a just Man, to be void of Vice, and full of all the other Virtues, else he can neither be call'd Just, nor Honest: Because, tho' by Justice may be made the wisest Laws, for the Punishment of Vice, and Reward of Virtue, yet without prudence, these very Laws may degenerate to Tyranny; but when these are conjoin'd, then indeed will be a happy People, for all Manner of Unity must Reign: Because its by the Administration of Justice, with Prudence, Magistrates are taught to Issue out wise Commands, and Subjects to obey, thus by this Common Wealths are preserv'd, and maintain'd in Unity, by setting a just and equal Course, twixt Princes and their Subjects, as by this Things common to all Men, by means of Commutation are severally

soverly produc'd : In a Word, its this, that knits the Minds of Men together in Societies ; nay even of wicked Men, and Thieves, whose Company cou'd not long subsist, if among their many Injustices, Justice did not take Place : In so much as that *Aristotle* and *Plato* were of Opinion, that he who was just, need ed no other Laws, 'cause Justice itself was sufficient to keep him, within the Bounds of living Well, and Honestly : And indeed Justice, in a real Sense, may well be called the Virtues united; for 'tis this that maintaineth common Utility, by prescribing Rules, Order, Measure, and Manner, to all Things, both Publick and Private, being the very Bond of all Human Conversation and Friendships : So that having thus shewn, What of all these Virtues are most proper for the Propagation of Unity, I next proceed to the Definition of Unity itself.

The End of all Men then in this Life, is either Misery or Felicity, and an End its justly called, because to this every Person laboureth : And as it ought to be the chief Care, of each Individual, to promote the Felicity not only of themselves, but their Fellow-creatures, and hence as Virtue is the only Way capable to promote the same ; it ought no less to be the principal Care of every one to promote Virtuous Lives, which is the only possible way, to lead to this Felicity : For the Reward of Virtue, is of two Sorts, One external, or that procu'd from the Honour bestow'd on it by others ; the other internal, which is that Peace and Tranquillity of Mind, whereon depends our Felicity, here below, being commonly called Conscience; and is the Almighty's Deputy in our Souls, that by Natural Instinct, even from the Light of Reason, and a Desire of the Company of others, induces us to Virtuous Actions, by checking us when we commit Vice : For tho' a Man has got never so many Virtues, yet the Opportunity of practising them wou'd fail, without the Company of others; and hence we wou'd be deprived of this inward Felicity, which, this Natural Instinct as rational Creatures, leads us to the Desire of, when we wou'd be Virtuous : For one might as well Deprive the World, of the Light of the Sun, if were it possible for him, as to deprive a Man of Friendship, because, tho' a Man may have never such a Knowledge of all the Virtues, yet unless he put them in Action, he can't enjoy either that inward, or outward Felicity, flowing from the Practice of the same.

This Natural Love in us proceeds then, first, from that which

we call Parental, or whereby we Love our Friends and Kindred; *adly*, from a Love to our Neighbours and Citizens, as Countrymen; *gally*, from a Love to Strangers, as Fellow Creatures; and this is that Instinct of Love in us, without which we can't deserve the Name of Human Creatures; for albeit Love be not Unity it self, yet it is the Root, and as without the Root, nothing can prosper, so without Love, all Friendship and Unity, must fall to the Ground; and as there can be no Unity again without Love, so there can be no real Friendship without Virtue; because as Piety and Policy, are two Things absolutely requisite, towards maintaining Peace amongst a People, so as to render them, a flourishing State; so by Unity in this Common-wealth, are we made to resemble the Citizens of the Heavenly, by our living in constant Peace, Harmony, and Concord, without the least Annoyance, or Molestation; so on the Contrary by Discord, are we made to resemble the Devil, who being the Author thereof, loves to propagate Hatred, Debate, Deceit, Falshood, Sedition, Unjust War, and even Death it self, so that by means thereof, he may draw Mens Souls at last into Eternal Damnation: But then, tho' Discord can't possibly dwell with true Friendship, yet many Appearances there are of the same, that are as far from being True, as the Painted Image of Man is from a Man, &c.

FRIENDS THEN, are of three sorts; some for Profit, or others for Pleasures, and some for other respects, which respects failing, Love also quieteth; so the Foundation of Friendship being gone, it must needs fall to the Ground; so that from this it's plain, there can be no true Friendship, without true Virtue, and if Judgment, lead the Dance, none will esteem another worthy to be beloved but for his Virtues Sake; and such Love is not only firm and sure, but even grows so Strong, as that not so much as a Dislike, can ever grow betwixt them; for as the Natural Instinct of Love, makes one Man Affable, Gracious, Courteous, and Human, if he be not degenerate from his own Nature, so by this, are we made not only Sociable and apt to defend our Neighbours, with all the Offices of Benovolence, but by this also are we made, apt to undergo, the severest Hardships for the Profit of our Friends; and this is that Friendship, which, *Demetrius Phalerius*, speaking of, says, That true Friends are willing to be Partakers of their Friends Felicity, if call'd thereto, but if Adversity, they stay not a Call, but run speedily to offer Help, and Comfort; and this is that Friend-
ship

ship which breedeth such Firm Consent, that they all become as one, in so much as it seemeth, one Mind Ruleth in them all, and hence *Zeno* was wont to call his Friend, another Himself, as well he might, for true Friendship and Unity, consists, only in the Equality of Minds, twixt which, neither Anger, Ingratitude, or Dissention, can grow; For true Friends provoke not one another, with Anger and Unthankfulness, but shew the greatness of their Courage in great Things, so as that being govern'd by Judgment, and Reason, they study to direct all their Actions to Honour, knowing that Honour is the Reward of Virtue.

So that having thus given you the Foundation of true Unity, which is Friendship; I next go on as I propos'd, to the Definition, of true Unity it self.

TRUE UNITY then, as I said of Friendship, is only the knitting and uniting together, of Mens Minds: Twixt which neither Length of Time, Prosperity, or Adversity, nay nor any grievous Accident what ever, can ever sever, or separate; and how Necessary this is at present, I leave every Man to Judge for himself, for if a Kingdom, House, or Family, be divided against themselves, that Kingdom, House, or Family, can't stand: And That Unity in the People, is the only way to promote a flourishing Realm, I think is Evident; not only from Sacred, but Civil History, for in the Mosaiical History, we find, that the Children of *Israel*, by their studying only of Unity, in Obedience to Gods Commands, were made, altho' but small in Number, the Terror of all the Heathen World about them; Conquering even the Canaanitish Giants, and all the most Fertile and Populous Nations, altho' they appear'd in Comparison, but as *Großhoppers*, and a small Handful; whilst on the contrary again, by their Murthering, and Discord, and at last by their Wicked Revolt from their lawfull King, they became the Slaves and Mock-stocks of all the Heathens about them: The same also we find in Civil History, for did not the Unity of the Senate and People of *Rome*, create them One of the Greatest, and most Flourishing Empires, that was ever before, or since heard of, in so much as that they made themselves Masters, of the then whole known World, whilst, on the contrary again, by their Discord, they soon fell from this Flourishing State, and became the Contempt and Ridicule, of all the Barbarous Nations about them: From all which it plain, that Friends can only be known in Adversity, than there

can be no true Friendship, without Love and Concord, and hence, that there can never be a Flourishing Realm, without the same.

But then, tho' Discord can't possibly, as I said, dwell with true Friendship; yet all Friendships, not founded on true Virtue, be what they will by Profession, must of Consequence, be subject to Quarrells and Dissentions: Because, 'tis only 'twixt the Good and Virtuous Men, of like good Life and Behaviour, one with another; that such solid Friendship can be propagated, (as I've just now describ'd) yet altho, as I've also shown you, there are several Sorts of Friendship, which tho' they may all outwardly appear firm and stout, yet is it impossible they can be solid, if not founded on true Virtue.

For as the truly Virtuous Man is he; not only endow'd with a Love to his Friends, and Kindred, from that Natural Instinct as mentioned, but also to all his Fellow-creatures in general, from the Virtue of his Mind: so will he also Endeavour to propagate Unity, in as far as he can, amongst all Sets and Sectaries of People.

And that the Virtues already describ'd, are so very Necessary, towards the Promotion of this, so Universall a Good, I think is evident, from sacred Writings themselves: Hence we find the *Apostle Peter*, in his II. *Epistle*, and I think II. Chap. Advising all his Converts, *To add to their Faith, Virtue, to Virtue, Temperance, to Temperance, Patience, to Patience, Brotherly Love and Charity*: All which if a Man be Endow'd with, the Rest naturally Occurs to him: For the Man Endow'd with Virtue; will Consequently have a Desire of Honour, knowing that Honour, is the Reward thereof: And where Desire of Honour abounds, there will be Affability and a good Behaviour, towards all Persons, with Fortitude, attended by her Maid of Honour, call'd, Patience, and where Patience prevails, there will be Temperance, which is only a Branch of the same; and hence all Manner of Love, Unity, and Concord, will succeed.

But then as I said, tho' all Friendship, not founded on true Virtue, are liable to Quarrels and Dissentions; yet none is so apt to degenerate, to Discord, as that founded on Self interest, and where that prevails in a State, then is it a sure Symptom, of approaching Ruin: For this is that, which has made many a Present Crown to Totter, because they sought a Crown for themselves and not the Good of the People; how many fair Houses, and Kingdoms have been laid waste by Self, in a Word, where on-

by Self prevails, there can be no true Unity, and where there is no true Unity, there can be no true Virtue; and where there is no true Virtue, Consequently all Manner of Piety must fail; Did not *Jehu* bring Ruin on Himself and Family, by his Self Interest? Because his Policy, without Piety, was not able to prevent it: For he that pretends to save himself by Policy alone, shall lose himself; Piety and Policy being like two Sisters, that must go Hand in Hand; and where self Interest only prevails, there Consequently all Piety must Vanish; therefore *Englishmen*, Noble Peers, 'tis to you chiefly I adress my self, the Duties of the Times at present; if we understand them aright, is to Crucify that grand Idol, Self; *Scotsmen*, 'tis the Voice of the Times at present, and mostly to You, the Call is, Crucify that grand Idol self: Seek not great Things to your selves, like *Baruch*, but the Good of the People, like *Mordecai*, for never was your Country so Miserably, or Despicably treat, even by the Publick Papers, to the shame of your own Neighbouring Nation, who, by the greatest and most solemn Oath and Bond of Union, that could ever possibly be made 'twixt two Nations, are Oblig'd to Assist, Protect, and Defend you, in your most Valuable Rights, and Liberties: Labour then for a more publick Spirit, than you have ever heretofore shown, by Endeavouring to cast Self behind you. Away with it, away with it; Crucify it, Crucify it; for 'tis only the Fostering of this Idol Self, that has been the Occasion of all these sad Distasters, that have of late befallen us: Being the fatal Source and Spring from whence proceeds Pride, Ambition, Voluptuousness, Effeminacy, and Luxury: Which are the Ruin entirely of a State, being all of them the Children of this Idol Mother; for according to the Mould in which this Idol is cast, so must all the Actions be fram'd to support it; so that the noise of the Times; most Noble Peers, for *Scotland*, to you, in a Particular Manner, the Cry is loud, and to all Employ'd in Parliament, both *Englishmen* and *Scotsmen*, Peers and Commons, and Bishops in Particular: That you may now lay such sure and lasting Foundation, as that these Strangers in our Land, Piety and Policy, may go Hand in Hand, Righteousness and Peace may Kifs each other, so as that All being join'd, your Names may be perpetuated to Generations to come, and the Children yet unborn may call you Blessed: Then will Virtue prevail with true Unity; and when these abound, as we will have but one Mind, so shall we have all Things common, according to the Laws

of

of Pythagoras; this will Multiply Strength in the Body politick, which resembles that of every Member of the Human Body, separate them, and they have no Vigour, but altogether, they compose a Strong and Lively Body.

So that having thus gone thro' the Definition of Unity, with the Foundation thereof, which is Friendship, and shewn at the same Time, the Vices which we must Necessarily shun, in order to the Propagation thereof: I come next to consider the Necessity of Subordination, because without Subordination to some Authority, no social Unity, or true Friendship can be Propagated: For as true Friendship is only the Knitting together of Minds, so by the Sanction of a Supreme Power, we become natu'ally assisted as it were, to the same; and tho' indeed too absolute Authority, is a great and dangerous Evil, yet a Supreme Power is an absolutely requisite Evil, in order to Prevent Greater; and therefore I shall shew the Necessity of Supremacy, in order not only to propagate Unity, but Virtue: and in Order to which, it will be requisite to mention, the different Governments, that Preside in this World, as well as the Passions; taking a View at the same Time, of the different Constitutions in these Governments; for as all Rules, are not Calculated for the same Purpose, so neither are all Constitutions fit for the Meridian of every State, for if all Bodies had the same Constitutions: and all Constitutions, the same Alterations; and all Alterations the same Times: Consequently the Emperick wou'd be the best Physician; but as all Bodies have not the same Constitutions, and Consequently have different Tempers, and Distempers, and hence require different Conservatives, and Cures, so neither have all Nations the same Constitutions, and hence require different Governments.

The World then, may be compar'd to a mighty Kingdom, of which, Theology is Empress, Mysteries Her privy Councillors; Religion her Clergy, the Arts and Sciences her Nobility, Philosophy her Secretary, the Graces, her Maids of Honour, the Moral Virtues, the Ladies of her Bed Chamber, Peace, her Chamberlain, True Joy and endless Pleasures, her Courtiers, Poverty, her Exchequer, the Temples, Her Court; and if any one desire Access to this great Majesty, the Way is by the Courtiers, if you have no Power there, the common Way is by her Secretary: and that Philosophy is the readiest Way to lead us to Virtue; every one must Acknowledge, for if once we arrive at this Honour,

we will soon come to get Access to all the others.

As the World then, after the Death of *Alexander*, was divided amongst his three Generals, so in the like Manner, this great Empress, has divided it to three different Empires, *viz.* Opinion, Ambition, and Sensuality; and given their Dominion, to her three Principal Generals under Her, *viz.* Error, Force, and Folly; to Error has she granted the Government of the First, to Force the Second, and to Folly the Third: So that when all these Passions Rule 'tis absolutely requisite, they should be restricted by some Power or other; and which Power, is that, which we call Supreme, and is commonly lodg'd in the Hands of Kings, and Legislators, and without which Supremacy, the following of those Examples, would be of the most pernicious Consequence, to Mankind: And this Power, is not only Requisite, in Order to subject Men thereto; and so Consequently, by the Formation of wise Laws, to preserve them from these domineering Passions, that prevail amongst us; but also for preserving Order, and Maintaining Peace and Safety, in a Realm: Because, without this Subordination, the most Venerable States, and Common Wealths, would be expos'd to the utmost Anarchy: And therefore it's Eligible to submit Ourselves, to some fix'd Principle of Government, by which the Body Politick may acquire that lasting Strength and Vigour above Discrib'd, by Disabandoning ourselves, from the Preternatural Revolutions of Anarchy, which certainly weakens and debilitates a State: And therefore 'tis to be wish'd that all those, who Publish, and vend Seditious Pamphlets, and take up their Time Vainly, in this Fashion, wou'd consider the Danger of rendering a National Supreme Power Odious; and on the Contrary, that all those invested with Supremacy, may Endeavour to remove all Causes, that may in the least give Occasion to such Practices: For when we look on Humane Nature, thus Enfeebl'd by these foolish Passions, that prevail in this World, we can behold nothing in Men, but a Propensity, to Savage Liberty, where each, wou'd pretend to, and contest for every Thing, where Reason signifies Nothing, because, each calls Reason the Passion, which animates him, and then there becomes neither Property, Dominion nor Right, save in Him who is the Strongest, and which may happen, to each, Individual Alternately.

Order then requires, that the Giddy-headed Multitude, shou'd

be restrain'd, from injuring themselves, and others, by debarring them, of Unlimited Power, which shou'd be Lodg'd in some wiser Hands : And this is that which we call Supreme, the Policy of which has form'd to it self, three different kinds of Governments, *viz.* Aristocracy, Democracy, and Monarchial ; (the Signification of which three, I Judge it entirely Useless to insist on, since every Gentleman is, or at least ought to be, acquainted with the same) and these Three again, are apt to fall three different ways to Ruin ; the first by Tyranny, the second by Ambition, the third by Tumults : So that a Government, depending on any of these alone, can't long subsist, but by being wisely mix'd, each guard the other, and make that Government Secure ; and hence we see that no Government can be call'd free, but these which have, Mixture of each : For tho' pure and simple Democracies may be call'd free, yet it may happen otherwise, and generally is so, more, or less, according as the People reserve themselves a Liberty ; for the Vulgar and Inconsiderate Part of Mankind, as they are by far the most Numerous ; so are they most Extravagant in all their Passions, both of Love and Hatred ; and Consequently if any of their Chief Magistrates, be Ambitious, or has gained the General Esteem, by any good Services done, or if he is One who has got Possession, of an immoderate Share of Riches, 'tis easy for Him, to get the Sole Disposal of the Government, and thus it may by Degrees, from a free Government, degenerate, to an absolute Tyranny : But by this Equal Mixture, each guard the other, and make that secure, and then there becomes a free Government institute : So far then, as History can inform me, I find, our Constitution is founded on this Mixture, and in all mix'd and free Governments, it ought to be the Chief Concern of every Statesman, to hold the Common-wealth, to Her first Constitution ; because of all the Difficulties in a State, the Temper of a true Government, most Felicitates and Perpetuates it : Too sudden Alterations, bringing always inevitable Perils, for had but Nero tun'd his Kingdom, as his Harp, his Harmony wou'd been more Honourable, and his Reign more Prosperous : For a Kingdom is like a great Building ; whose main Supporters, are, the Government of Church, and that of State ; and therefore, 'tis the part of every Wise Minister, to keep these Pillars in their first State, irremovable ; if either fail, 'tis more Wisdom to repair, then remove it, for he that pulls down the Old, to set up

a New

a New, may draw the Building on his Head, and so ruin the Foundation; too sudden Alterations always Distempering: And hence in all mix'd Monarchies, if the Hierarchy, grow too Absolute, 'tis Wisdom in a Prince rather to depress, then suppress it; for all Alterations in fundamental Governments, bring apparent Dangers, but too sudden, threaten inevitable Ruin; and in Order to this as Care should be had, that none get Possession, of an immoderate Share of Riches, in Democratical Governments, so no less Care of the same shou'd be had, in all mix'd and free Ones.

For it is to be observ'd in all Republicks, which in their Original are only an Institution of many, that the whole State, is ever in profoundest Tranquillity, after a full meal *i. e.* when all are equally flourishing, in Trade, and the Riches not solely Lodg'd in one Hand, but when All have a Part, and this is the only way to Create Unity; for Civil Broyls arise only, when it happens for one great Bone, to be seiz'd upon, by some leading Dog, who either divides it amongst a Few, and then it falls to an Oligarchy, or keeps it to himself, and then it runs up to Tyranny; and if we turn our Eye again, upon any State, engag'd in a foreign Warr, either of Invasion or Defence, we'll find the same Reasonings holding true, as to the Grounds and Occasion of each, for Poverty, or Want, in some Degree or other; whether Real, or in Opinion, (for that makes no Alteration in the Case) has a great Share, as well as Pride, on the Part of the Aggressor; for Wars and publick Dissentions, are only the Children of Pride, and Pride again, only the Daughter of Idol Self, so that tho' she commonly is the Child of Riches, yet is she also nearly related to Beggary, or Want, either by Father or Mother's Side; and sometimes both: For to speak the Truth, Dissentions and Broyls, very seldom fall out, when all Men have enough: And this is the exact Case at present with us in *Britain*; for never was she, ever reduc'd so low by Poverty, or suffer'd openly so many Affronts, which is owing only to the immoderate Riches of Some, whereby they come to Subvert all Government, whilst others again are so extreemly Poor, that they neither can defend themselves, against their Oppressors, or Corrupters; and this was one of the Principal Sources of Misery, that *Athens* lay under, during her State of Anarchy, till the wise *Solen*, upon his being Institute *Archon*, in Order to abolish these Evils, forgave

all the publick Debts, by remitting them first, that were due to himself; here then is a Glorious Example, for our Modern Patriots and Statesmen, to Copy after, when the same Misery prevails, not only so much at present amongst us, but also when the Regal Exactions are so very great, that none can have any Way of living almost conveniently, but those possess of Offices from the Government, but this wou'd be the only way to let the whole Nation see, that 'tis not Parties and Factions, you presently Labour after, but the mere Interest of your Country, that you love to Study; for me thinks if Affairs continue long in this Posture, it would not be a bad Politick of the Government, to drain the Nation entirely of Money, that so Commerce with other Nations may be stop'd, whilst the Revival of the Ancient *Romish* Custom, of making Painted Bend Leather, pass for Money, wou'd be requisite, for at present all our Money is drained away from us, in Order to support great Fleets, and Standing Armies to ly idle, or when in Action, either to be defeat, or do little or nothing: And all under Pretence of obtaining a safe and honourable Peace, which in the main, tho' it is good, and is a Princely Alchymy, out of a Neccessary War, to extract an honourable Peace, there being a Blessing pronounc'd, to the Peace-makers, and not Conquerors; yet is that State only Happy, whose King or Prince has a Peaceful Hand, and a Martial Heart; able both to use Peace and manage War, for tho' Peace be good, yet when it prevails without Truth, 'tis the worst of Evils: And sure never was Truth and Honesty, so quite Vanish'd from us, as at present, but herein lies the only Safety of a State, when their King knows both how to use Peace, and manage War; all Neuterallities being dangerous; nay there can't be a greater Sign of Corruption, then for a Prince, or Governor, upon any Difference 'twixt Foreign Powers, either to buy his Peace, or take it up at an Interest; for, He that hath not a Sword to Command it, shall either lose it, or his Hononr with it; and it seems to have been owing to nothing, but our Slowness and Backwardness at first in this present War, that has made our Enemies stand out so long against us, nay even after a publick Declaration of it; and here I must also beg Leave to add, that it is an absolute requisite Affair, for Kings and Princes, if they are willing to preserve Peace in Time of it, to Honour and Respect their Commanders, for when brave Spirits and Neglect, to be the Effect of Quiet Times, they devise all means possible

possible to remove the Cause, and by suggesting Inducements to new Wars, disturb and unsettle the old Peace, buying thus private Honour, at the publick Danger: And indeed, me thinks, I can attribute no greater Reasons, to our present Divisions amongst us, than the Neglect of brave Spirited Men, and Men of Merit, whilst the most Ignorant, Weak, Illiterate, and Unxperienc'd, have been put in Places of the highest Trust, and Employments; whilst these in our Fleets again, that we have so long supported, by our slowness at first to a War, have enrich'd themselves, by their Trading, in Place of Warring, by reason of our Slackness.

For, wherever the Military Force of a Kingdom, consists in great Fleets, these by applying themselves, rather to be Rich, than Great, become the Source of all Manner of Luxury and Licentiousness, and that again, is, what creates all Manner of Discord, as I before hinted; for when great Fleets are keep'd up idle, then the Mariners and Seamen, by becoming Merchants in place of Warriors, come thereby to have no other bond of Union, than the fatal Self Desire of Gain, whilst the generous Love of their Country comes, to be no longer in Esteem, when the publick Good interfeers, with their private Interest: In order then, to remedy this, Mariners ought to be bred up in Merchant Vessels, that may always, if Occasion require, be in Readyness to Man the Royal Navy, and these Vessels again, shou'd either be Built like Ships of War, or else in time of Peace, all the superfluous Ships of War, with their Mariners, and Seamen, ought to be complimented to the Merchants, in order to subsist by Trade, in time of Peace; and by this Means, there will always not only be a sufficient Number of Mariners and Seamen, kept up in time of Peace, that will be able to Man the Royal Navy, in Time of War; but by this Means also, Commerce, will come to be established, not only for the good of the Subjects, but also for the King and Treasury; and by this great Advantage may be reap'd from Commerce; for by this, it will not only tend to Augment the State, but also enrich the Subject, for by the Number of Mariners that are bred up here, on the Merchants Expence, in time of Peace; they will come to have the same Experience as these bred up in his Majesty's Navy, in time of War; and by the Merchants returning these Ships again, with their Mariners, to the Lords of the Admiralty, (if called for) they'll also come to be of extensive use, in Time of War, or if other wise

they

they be allowed to keep them, the Merchants will be enabled to carry on a War themselves with Vigour, and by this Means, both the Trouble and Expence laid out, by foolish Proclamations, for the Encouragement of Seamen will be sav'd; and hence 'tis observ'd by all Historians, as a Piece of good Conduct, in Queen *Elizabeth*, that she carry'd on the Wars with *Spain*, without the least Expence to the State, by only Lending the Merchants, a few of Her Ships of War, whereby it was carry'd on with Vigour, and the *Spaniards* forc'd to a Peace; and I'm sure, many of these Ships of War, that have so lately been Built, will be superfluous in Time of Peace, and so of no Use; but by complimenting them to Merchants, the same Number of Mariners will always come to be keep'd up in time of Peace, and hence there will never be Lack, in Time, of War.

And this is the only way for carrying off a War, without Oppression to the Subjects, or Expence to the State; for when Commerce under the Protection of wise Laws prevails, Plenty soon becomes universal, and Magnificence is no Expence to the State; but Kings, who think to enrich themselves by their Exactions, are not only Enemies to themselves, but the State; for 'tis very dangerous for a Prince, as well as People, to make a continual Practice of cruel Exactions; because, when the Subject stands in Sense, or Expectation of Evil, he is apt to provide for his Safety, either from the Evil he feels, or the Danger he fears, and growing bold in Conspiracies, forms Factions, which are the Ruin entirely of a State; and hence all Princes shou'd be careful to consider, the good, or bad Dispositions of the People towards them; If Good, Labour to continue it, but if Evil, to provide against it, by removing all Grounds of Suspicion; and in order to this, there can be nothing better, than the Encouragement of Commerce in a right Way; for as I said when Commerce under the Protection of wise Laws, Flourishes: Plenty soon becomes universal and Magnificence is no Expence to the State: And what need had we, poor *Britons* of this at present, I leave every one to judge; for never were we reduced so low by Poverty, as these few Years by past, which has only been owing, to the fatal Decay of Trade, that we have suffer'd, by this long and tedious War, yet no War: Whereby none has been enriched, but those who hold Offices under the Government, and especially those in the Navy; but herein lies our Salvation, by encouraging of Commerce, in a regular

gular Way, and which again, can only be done, by diminishing Exorbitant Imposts; and by giving Encouragement, to all Sorts of Goods in Abundance, by diminishing the Land and Malt Taxes; and by prohibiting the Monopolies of unnecessary Wares and Provision; and hence both Buyer and Seller being equally exempt, from vexatious Constraints, the Subjects will Endeavour, to import all Manner of Goods in Abundance, and so be capable to sell them at Reasonable Rates, and this will tend both for the Good of the King and People, for the less Trade is fetter'd, the more will the Royal Revenues increase, and the Lower the Goods are sold, the more Consequently will be consum'd, and by this Consumption, the Royal Revenues will daily increase; for both the Trouble and Expence, that's laid out on Officers, for levying these excessive Duties will be preserv'd, and thus the Publick Stock increas'd: For 'tis a sure Sign, that a Nation is on the Brink of Ruin, when the Subjects are Poverish'd, because, when the People have not Money in their Hands, which as I said, is a sure pledge of Commerce with other Nations, they'll neither be capable to secure themselves, against the Oppression of the Rich, or Corruption of their Ministers; and consequently, the whole Nation must fall into Anarchy, popular Discords, will arise, private Umbrages will be propogated amongst Courtiers, till, at last Foreign Hostility, reconcile the Cause; for Kings ought to refuse every Thing, rather than oppress their Subjects, but by studying true Virtue, shou'd Endeavour to gain their Hearts; which are the surest Fortresses, they can build, either against Civil Commotions, or Foreign Invasions; knowing that in the Unity of the Head with the Members, consists the Safety of a Body Politick.

And from this also will appear, the Necessity of all wise Kings, and Princes, Encouraging Manufactories, Merchandise, Arts and Arms, in their Kingdoms; for as in the Manufactories, lies the Vital Spirits, so in Merchandise, the Spirits Natural, as in Arts and Arms, the Spirits Animal: For if any of these languish, the Body droops; but as these flourish, so does the Body: And hence also, all these that excel in Genius, for any excellent Invention, ought to be encourag'd; and from this also will appear, the Necessity of a King's being Experienc'd, in the Genius of his People, and the Production of Nature, in his Kingdom or Kingdoms, and in order to this, He ought to travel once or

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twice a Year thro' the different Districts of his Kingdom of Kingdoms &c. That so He may not be led to a bad Opinion of any of his Subjects without Experience ; for, None ought to rely upon the Faith of another, in publick Matters ; for in all fruitful, spacious, populous Kingdoms, by encouraging and improving Manufactories, of our own natural Productions, the National Riches, will come to be augmented, and by this, the Money will circulate, so as that it may not be in the Power of any, to have all the Riches in their own Hand, whilst others are like to perish thro' extreme Poverty ; and by this Encouragement from publick Authority, if the People are laborious, they may come to draw immense Riches, from the fertile Bosom of the Earth, which otherways would be lost, by the Sloath and Negligence of the People, for 'tis only by carrying the Fruits of our own Industry, to Foreign Nations, that solid Commerce comes to be maintain'd, and which is the Source of great Advantage to all States, and the only Secret, to create Plenty in great Monarchies : And sure I am, never has there been greater Scarcity of all Things, in *Britain*, than of late, which is only owing to the Fatal Decay of Trade, and yet being oblig'd to maintain great Fleets, and standing Armies ; all which quickly exhaust a Kingdom, if we know not how to draw Subsistence for them, from Foreign Nations, by a flourishing Trade ; But then, on the contrary, Care ought to be taken, that nothing shou'd be exported to other Countries, but our own Superfluities ; nor any Thing imported again, but what is purchas'd by these ; and by this Means, the State will never contract Debt abroad, and the Ballance of Trade will be always on its Side, so that we may draw from other Countries, wherewithal, to defray the Expence of a War, and this is the only way for carrying on a War, without Oppression to the Subject, or Expence to the State ; and thus great Advantage may be reap'd from Commerce, without diverting the People from their proper Business, or diminishing Military Virtue.

So that having thus shown the Reasons, for the first Institution of Governments, the Constitution of our own, from that of others, the Benefits accruing from Trade and Commerce, and the Way for carrying on of War, without Oppression to the Subjects, or Expence to the State. I come next to speak a little of the Laws : And tho' I must own that the Multiplicity of Laws, is as great a Sign of the Corruption of a State, as the Diversity of

Medicines

Medicines is of the Distempers of Bodies; because, when Truth, Reason, and solid Judgment, with Virtue, comes to be neglected, Men becomes anxious about Trifles, and look on solid Matters as too abstract; and hence, arises an immoderate Fondness for Pleasures, and all Manner of publick Amusements, which tend only to effeminate the Mind, Increase: Yet since the Parliament of *Britain*, has by their Authority, been pleased to decry against all such Amusements, I make no doubt also, but by this Time, they are sensible of the fatal Consequences, of being too much taken up about Trifles, by providing Quakes, and notorious Criminals Wives, in 1000 *l.* Portions, whilst they were all this while, neglecting the more solid Matters; and which foolish Decisions of late Parliaments, was not only the sole Source of these late Disorders amongst us, but also of this tedious War, we are presently engag'd in; for no sooner did the *Spaniards* observe these Commotions, than they immediatly catch'd hold of the Bait, by committing all Manner of Hostilities against us: So that the very next Session of Parliament was forc'd to be employ'd in more solid Matters, to their sad Experience; and I'm ashamed to think, That, such Cases as those, thou'd not have prevented the Like for the future; but on the contrary, here were Prints issued out by Act of Parliament, under the Title of Reason, which when I inspected, I cou'd observe nothing, but Strife made up with Treason, in place of Excellent Reason: And even of late, notwithstanding our civil Commotions, the very publick Papers abounded with such Abuses, witness the Author of the scandalous Paper, entitled *Old England*, penn'd for no other Reason, than to force all *Scotland* to rise up unapimously against their King and Country, who has the Honour to be descended; nay even to Possess the Crown, by Virtue of his Descent, and Propinquity from the Ancient and Illustrious Race of *Scots* Kings, whilst on the contrary, the *Scots* were suppressed from answering it in Writing; and all this Inveteracy shown against us, by the Nation who by the most sacred Bond of Union, are oblig'd to assist and defend us; but shall a whole populous Nation be allow'd, thus so publickly to be inveigh'd against, for the Fault of a small Handful, from One of the remotest Corners in our Nation, who not only put this Nation, but even all *England* itself (altho' they were but a Handful,) into the utmost Confusion; For Shame! that such Publick

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Discords shou'd be thus Publickly propagated; but herein lies the sure Sign of the Corruption of a State, when Virtue becomes thus publickly disown'd: Tho' herein lies the Security both of King and People, the shewing for the Future; a Publick Hatred; to all such seditious Practices, and discouraging them, by the severest Laws; and as this is the way, to gain the Affection of the People, without which no King can safely Reign, so is it the only Way to promote Unity: Shall any *Englishman*, or *Scottsman* then, for the Future, fall so short of his Virtue, as to wink at such Practices, and thus by dragging on an inglorious Life in Circumstances, on Account of any private Interest, make themselves Easy, whilst their Country is on the brink of Ruin, and yet not Endeavour, whilst in their Power, to relieve it: No, I trust and Glory, that None shall be so Inglorious, but that this, as 'tis a solid Matter, so it shall be for the future discourag'd; if any such Attempts, in such Publick Ways, shall ever again be made, (and that by the Authority of Parliament itself,) that no true hearted *Briton* for the future, shall delight, to sit in such an Honourable House, and yet allow the Good of their Country, to pass without Notice, whilst they take themselves up only with vain Trifles.

But to return again to the Subject; as I've already shown, we are a free Constitution, as being a mix'd One, and as no other Government can be call'd free, but these that have a Mixture of each; for I reckon all these under an absolute Monarchy, as great Slaves, as the *Negroes*, that are purchas'd in the *Indies*, whilst these again under the Protection of the Nobles, or what we call Aristocratical, are no less, and tho' pure and simple Democracies, may be call'd, and really are, free Governments, yet I've already shown, they are liable to the same Inconveniencies, so that none can be called Free, but those who have a Composition of each, for as by Hereditary Monarchy, these fatal Disputes, that often rend and tear a Commonwealth to Pieces, about choosing their King or Governor, is hereby prevented; so by this also, the Dangers and Delays that flow from Openess in popular Governments, is also resisted: Whilst by the Aristocratical Part again, the People are secur'd, from the Ambition of their Monarch, as well as that of private Persons, whereby their Spirits may be supported, under the greatest Dangers and Misfortunes: Whilst by the Democratical Part again, the People enjoy,

not

Not only a Liberty, of calling their Governors, under the King, to an Account, if they suspect any Misdemeanours, but also of making their own Laws; and as this Part of Governments in all mix'd Monarchies, is the most useful by far of any, yet as the vulgar and inconsiderate Part of Mankind, are outrageous in all their Passions, and as they compose by far the greatest Part of Mankind; therefore such Impeachments ought wisely to be consider'd at all Times; and it shewes, much of the Wisdom of a Magistrate, always to vindicate a Man of Power, or State Employment, from the malicious Seandal, of a Giddy headed Multitude, by punishing it with the greatest Severity; knowing that Scandal breeds Hatred, and Hatred again begets Malice, and Divisions, whilst Divisions produce Factions, and Factions brings the Ruin entirely of a State; and therefore I say, no wise Man, ought ever to consider, or take Notice to the Outcry of a Multitude, till once the Torrent be totally quench'd, for the only way to allay Discontents in a State, is to give them moderate Time to Evaporate, for he that turns the Humour back too hastily, makes the wound bleed inwardly, and fills the Body with Malignity; Discontents in a State, being like Cancerous Ulcers in the Body, the more they are tamper'd with, the worse they grow, and hence it shews gracious Wisdom in a Prince, in all Civil Commotions, to use rather Juleps than Phlebotomy, for 'tis better to breath the Distemper, by a wise Delay, than correct it with too rash an Onset; so that as 'tis plain, no Governments can be called free, but these which have a Composition of each; for as by this, we shun the Inconveniencies, and gain the Advantages of each: So I think that in all such Governments it ought to be, the Chief Care of all Persons in Reputation, to study, to preserve the three Powers, always in *Æquilibrio* one with another; and as no Governments can be call'd free, but mix'd ones, so it ought no less to be the Care of every Person in general, as well as those plac'd in Authority, in particular, in all such free Governments, to have a due Regard, that the People enjoy also free Laws; for tho' mix'd Governments are best, yet all are good, when those that govern, seek only the Publick Welfare, for 'tis not so much the Form of Government, makes a Nation happy, as the Conduct of the Governors; all depends, on their making wise Laws, with a steady Execution of these Laws, and their own strict Observance of them; and this is only what

can render a Nation happy ; for if a Nation be honoured with free Governments, as well as free Laws, then may she justly be call'd the happiest in the World, so that since we alone, can only deserve the Name of free born Subjects, so ought it to be the chief Care of All, and especially those in Authority, to study to the utmost, the Maintenance and Preservation of free Laws.

By free Laws then, I Mean, all such, as are not in the least liable to Controversion, and of this Sort, I think, as we are a free Constitution, so are all these that depend upon the free and unlimited Election of free Burroughs, &c. in Order to their chusing Representatives for Parliament, so as that none for the Future may have it in their Power, to Controvert the lawfully Elected, either by a downright Perjury, or by giving in of double Returns, in order to ward off the Blow ; and I'm hopeful, most Noble Peers, as well as All concern'd in Parliament, that you'll Diligently consider, this important Affair, and Urge for a Bill to be brought in, to declare all Persons, as Sheriffs, and their Clerks, who shall be Guilty of the like Illegal Practices, for the Future, not only incapable, of all Publick Employment, but also that a severe Mulcture, and Corporal Punishment, may be put on all such, as shall for the future, Endeavour to Controvert the Lawfully Elected, by giving in of double Returns, or otherwise ; and this is of the utmost Importance ; not only for the Maintenance of Peace and Unity, amongst the People, but also for the Safety of the King, and all those that Govern under him ; that if such Express Words, as double Returns, be not mention'd in an Act, of the Legislator, against it, every little Fellow, who has the least Umbrage at the present Establishment, by coming under that high sounding Word of Patriot, that has of late rung so much in the Ears of the People, and under the other Denomination of Courtier, we may soon come to have a double Parliament, at every Election ; and thus the Nation by being perpetually thrown into the utmost Anarchy, the People by Degrees, will come to despise all Regal Authority, and hence we may soon come again to be plung'd into more Civil War, which are the Dangeroufests of all Wars, especially in a free State ; so that if the King and Ministry, has a Mind to declare a thorough Hatred, against Corruption, and to preserve Unity amongst the Subjects, by keeping the People from Domestick Broils, and Commotions, herein lies our Salvation ; for if such Practices be not taken

ben special Notice of, we soon may see the worst of Consequences, and this is of such weight with me, that I observe it as a general Maxim, at all Times, and in all Histories, that such Practices have never been committed, but by the most wicked and self-Designing Persons, who are unwilling to displease any of the Candidates, and so ward off the Blow, by giving in a double Return; and in the late *William and Mary's* Time, when the Nation was plung'd into the utmost Anarchy; I see, this was one of the Principal Methods, taken to propogate it; for there were then in these Troublesome Times, no less then six double Returns at one Election, of which four, for *England*; and two, for *Scotland*; and in the Elections for the last Parliament, we had also the same Number, of which there were four, for *Scotland*; and two, for *England*; and the whole Nation now knows, what has been the Effects since: And even in the present Elections for this; I observe some Misdemeanours committed in both Kingdoms; Is not this then, solid Matters for a *British* Parliament, if they have a Mind to preserve the Peace and Quiet of the Nation, and the Safety of the King and Ministry, as well as the Strength of our Valuable Constitution? For tho' indeed, in the late *William and Mary's* time, there was an Act pass'd on this Head, yet double Returns were not mention'd, (because the State was then reduc'd, to such Anarchy, that they did not well observe what they were adoeing) and therefore only mention'd a Penal Mulcture on such as shou'd Transgress the Rules of Humanity, by acting contrary to Conscience, and thereby subverting the lawfully Elected; and tho' indeed, there has been some Regulations, anent Elections in the last Parliament, yet no such Thing has been mention'd: Most noble Peers as well as Commoners, let therefore the Example of former Times, shew you a Pattern, for 'tis an excellent Thing, to see one Age improving upon the Works of another, I'm therefore hopefull, such a Bill shall be mov'd for, and if no Remedy can be had by the Legislator, against double Returns, yet I think in such Cases the Election of both Candidates, ought to be declar'd Void and Null; and new Writs issued out, for Electing new Members, in such County or Counties; as if such return had never been made.

So that having thus advis'd the Nobles, I must here beg Leave to speak a Word, before I Conclude this Work, to Those in whose Hands the Supremacy is Lodg'd: And as to those,

would

wou'd earnestly recommend, That they may always keep Firm and Stable in their own Hands that Power, which, by the Privilege of Birth-right, they become invested; and what makes me take Notice of this, is, because there has been a great Noise of late amongst a certain Set of Gentlemen, in Order to make his Majesty Part with some of h's Birth-right Privileges; but many Instances may be shewn, both in Foreign and Domestick History, where, by Kings yielding (too good natur'dly) to their Subjects Demands, the utmost Anarchy, has been produced; for the Kings of *Sparta*, having been for sometime absolute, *Eurition*, one of their Kings, in Order to please the People, yielded up Part of his Prerogative; whereupon a Republican Party was forthwith form'd, that became Audacious and Turbulent; the Kings wou'd have resum'd their Ancient Authority, but the People hinder'd it, and this constant Struggle 'twixt opposite Powers, rent the State in Pieces, till *Lycurgus's* Time, who, in Order to set an even Ballance 'twixt the King's Power, and the People, institute a Council of Twenty eight Senators, whose Authority being a Medium, 'twixt these two Extremes, deliver'd *Sparta*, from it's Domestick Dissension: but then, as the People are always unreasonable in their Demands, especially when they obtain them, they cou'd not rest satisfied with this, but continuing still Audacious and Turbulent, King *Theopompus*, about One hundred and Thirty Years after this, observing it, Institute a certain Number of Annual Magistrates, call'd *Ephori*, that were Chosen by the People, and in their Name Consented to, whatever was Decided by the King and Senate; each private Person looking on these unanimous Resolutions, as done by himself; and in this Unity of the Head with the Members, Consisted the Life of the Body Politick; You then Most Noble Peers, are our *Ephori*, and Commons of the People, stand then for the Good of your Country, but never advise a Supreme-Power, to Quit with any Thing, which by the Privilege of Birth-right, he seems Invested with; and all Kings ought wisely to Consider, and not give too great an Ear to their Subjects in any Respect, for from the Simplicity of Kings, and their yielding (too good Natur'dly) to the Peoples Demands, we may observe the worst of Consequence always produc'd, in so much as, that it could not be remedied, for the Space of One hundred and Thirty Years, and till the State was wholly Ruin'd by Factions and Divisions: Nay, and even in our own Island, who by our Constitution, are in no

Danger to Fear an Absolute Monarchy, yet the like Fatal Consequence have happen'd; for it was this very Point, and his Majesty's yielding (too good natur'dly) to the Demands of his Subjects, that Created such Turbulency, in the late unfortunate *Charles's* Time; for had but that Monarch employ'd that Power, with which he was Invested, for his own and his Ministers Preservation, and never yielded so good Natur'dly, to his Subjects Demands, then had he never been Usurp'd; for Kings yielding to good Natur'dly to the Desires of a giddy Headed Multitude, stir'd up perhaps, by their own Ambitious Servants, is the only way to Create all Manner of Anarchy, for as the Vulgar are inconstant in all their Passions, so are they in all their Desires, and wou'd they but obtain their Will, in one popular Point, they wou'd soon come to demand another, as unreasonable, the Refusal of which may produce Consequences, even worse than Hatred itself.

So that having thus given a Word, by the by, to Supreamacy; I next return again, before I Conclude, to our Nobles and Ephori.

Most Noble Peers of *Britain* then, and You, who are the Ephori, or Representatives for the People in the House of Commons, Consider upon former Times, and Ages, and Practise, nothing but Virtuous Actions, Jealousies are still Propogated by the People, that the Ministerial Power is to be supported, whatever may be the Consequence to the King or People, by a Parliament entirely at their Devotion, assisted by a standing Army, and that thereby the Liberties so much boasted of, by our Constitution, will be rendered (*Vox & præterea nihil*) that the insupportable Load of Debts, in place of Diminishing will daily Increase, &c.

I would to GOD, that all Causes, and even the least Appearance of Dissatisfaction were remov'd, towards which Important Work, there are many Things to be Consider'd; the Foundation of which is to Establish an Act by Authority of Parliament, as just now mentioned, Diminishing the Exorbitant Taxes, Diminishing the Imposts of Merchant Goods, (as I said) and giving Encouragement to all manner of Trade, and Manufactures, in the three Kingdoms and this is the Way to let the Nation see, that his Majesty Relies on the Affection of his People, as the only solid Guarantee, for the Protestant Succession, and that he is equally the King and Father of all his People, and that no Part, much less such an Ancient Kingdom as we are in North *Britain*, may ly under the Impression, that we are only Consider'd in the Nature of prescrib'd

Person

Persons, and this, I hope, will be the Case at present, so that true Unity may prevail, and Justice, a Thing so Necessary to preserve it, may flourish in our Land.

But then, Most noble Peers, and Ephori, Consider That tho' Justice be Necessary for setting an equal Carriage 'twixt Princes and their Subjects, yet it may soon, if not mix'd with Clemency degenerate to Tyranny, because it may come to be severely establish'd by Law, to the end that severe Justice, may not be Term'd severe Wrongs, and then does it degenerate to Tyranny, by proving the Height of Oppression: Most noble Peers and Commons, Consider then the Times at present, and let your Moderation be made known to all Men, by your Practice of Virtue; let not the Streaches of former Times and Parliaments Edge you to the same Methods, for winding up of Instruments to the highest Pegg, doth not only Marr the Harmony, but break the Strings: and daily Experience shews that too Violent Administrations, by carrying Things to the Height, have not been long continued, for tho' Justice be Necessary, yet it may degenerate to Tyranny, and then it proves the Height of Oppression; and hence it was a wise saying of King *Agessilaus*, that to be too Just, was not only, far from Humanity, but even Cruelty: And indeed it is to be wish'd, with the Emperor *Trajan*, that Equity and Clemency, were always shown in Justice, without Partiality; and hence we find, the very *Egyptians*, and *Heathens* themselves, were wont to Express Justice, in their Hieroglyphicks, with a left Hand open, in Order to shew, that, as the Left was Weaker then the Right, so Justice should be administer'd, advisedly, and without Force, for as I said 'tis not upon the Freeness of a Government, depends, the Safety of a People, all flows from the Wisdom of the Governors: And hence also we find in the Roman History, that the Axes, accustomedly carried before the Roman Consuls, were bound about with Bonds, declaring, by this, That as there was a Time taken to unbind them, or they cou'd be us'd for the Death of any Person; so ought there to be a Time to deliberate, for those who Execute the Laws, for to treat Men always with the utmost they deserve, is Brutality, and not Justice; tho' on the contrary, too Extensive a good Nature, that has not Force enough to Punish Vice, or reward Merit with Distinction, is not Virtue but Vice, and frequently produces as great Mischiefs, as Malice itself: And hence also, it shews great Wisdom in a Prince, in all Civil Com-

motions

motions to Use rather Juleps than Phlebotomy, and not Correct with too rash an Onset, Discontents in a State, being like Cancerous Ulcers in the Body, the more they are Tamper'd with, the worse they Turn, for the turning the Humor back too hastily, makes the Wound bleed inwardly, and fills the Body with Malignity; and as I've shewn, that all Virtue is plac'd in an equal Medium, 'twixt two Extremes, so Rigour, in any Thing, or on the Contray, too much Laxness in Things Necessary, is not Virtue, but Vice, as are all Overs: And therefore, Most noble Peers, as well as Commoners, I'm hopefull that you'll make Virtue the Rule and Guide of all your Actions, and if this be the Case, then will you do nothing wrong, but be enabl'd to manage all your Affairs with Prudence, which is the Rule of all Decency and Comeliness, by causing the Actions of all bright Men, to be Admir'd and Extol'd, by restricting them to Honesty, Abstinence, and Incontinency, so as to keep in Decency all their Actions, by Tempering the Fury of Passions, and then will all manner of Unity, Love, and Harmony prevail; and therefore, knowing that the Vices in Men are Innumerable, and daily Additions to this Heap; whilst, on the contrary, the Virtues are so very few, that they may be Counted over, on a few of our Fingers. I have done all that I can, in Order to propogate this, so Universal Good, as that of Unity, by gathering together a List of the Cardinal Virtues, and Distributing them, with the utmost of my Liberality, amongst the Heroes and great Men of *Britain*; and tho' I'm unworthy of such an Employment, yet since Weeds have now got the Preeminency over all other Vegetables, in so much as that the First Monarch of this Island did wisely Root out the Rose, from the Collar of the Order, and Planted in the Thistle, as the nobler Flower of the Two, I have therefore assum'd the greater Boldness. May Virtue then Flourish in this Island, and appear to the *Englishmen*, to be somewhat more, then a little Pork with a Variety of Sauce, &c.

F I N I S.

